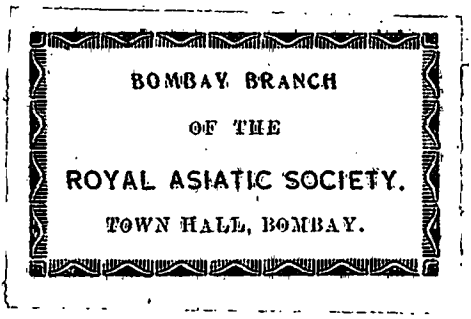
00027368



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016

IRELAND.

LONDON : PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

IRELAND

INDUSTRIAL, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL.

BY

JOHN NICHOLAS MURPHY.

27368 ac

RR e 72

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1870.

All rights reserved.

ref. 941.5

330.9415
Mur/Ire
27368

00027368

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

WHO ALONE CAN SOLVE THE IRISH DIFFICULTY,

AND WHO NOW, HAPPILY,

UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF A GREAT MINISTER,

HAVE ADDRESSED THEMSELVES, IN RIGHT EARNEST,

TO THE WORK OF ITS SOLUTION,

THIS BOOK ON IRELAND

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

To SOME OF MY READERS portions of this work may appear too didactic; but I would remind them that it has been written, not for the exclusive perusal of the learned, or even of those who are called the educated classes, but for the information of all who desire to study the Irish question.

In selecting my authorities, especially in the historical chapters, I have given the preference to moderate, impartial, and generally accepted writers; and, having regard to the weight of their names with the public, I have, in some instances, quoted directly from their works, in preference to drawing on the earlier sources from which they derive their information. I have taken care however, to verify their quotations. It will be observed too, that, on points likely to involve controversy, I have preferred giving the exact words of my authorities to merely repeating the substance of their evidence.

To many kind friends in different parts of Ireland, and a few on the Continent, having access to the best sources of information, I am indebted for much valuable aid afforded. It was my intention, at first, to make special mention of some; but on full consideration I have decided to confine myself to one general expression of my grateful acknowledgments.

CLIFTON, CORK: *January* 1, 1870.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I. PAGE

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER II.

Natural advantages of Ireland—Is she advancing or retrograding?—How to judge of her actual condition 4

CHAPTER III.

Comparison of the coal and mineral production of Great Britain and Ireland 7

CHAPTER IV.

Coal-fields of Ireland 9

CHAPTER V.

Coal production and statistics of the principal coal-producing countries 12

CHAPTER VI.

Great Britain stands alone in the foremost rank, as a manufacturing country —Brief view of the development of a few of her principal manufactures— Inventive genius of her sons—Uses of British, Irish, and foreign wool . 14

CHAPTER VII.

Ireland's manufactures—Effects of the presence of coal-fields on manufacturing industry 20

PAGE

CHAPTER VIII.

History of the linen and woollen manufactures in Ireland—The woollen manufacture suppressed by Act of Parliament—The linen manufacture promoted by the State—Bad effects of the suppression of the woollen manufacture 24

CHAPTER IX.

Particulars of woollen and worsted factories in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively—Progress of Ireland in the woollen manufacture since 1862 32

CHAPTER X.

Other impolitic trade restrictions—Ireland debarred from the export of cattle, manufacture of glass, and colonial and foreign trade . . 34

CHAPTER XI.

Progress and the present state of the linen manufacture in Ireland—Consumption and growth of flax—Inadequate supply—Remarkable decrease in acreable produce—Necessity of increased growth, outside of Ulster—Laudable exertions of the Belfast Flax Extension Association—Particulars of factories—Increase since 1862—Flax factories in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively—Importance of the speedy settlement of the land question to the linen manufacture of Ireland . . . 37

CHAPTER XII.

The cotton manufacture in Ireland; its history, present position, and progress since 1862—Particulars of cotton factories in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively—The sewed muslin trade of Ulster—Lace work—History of the Irish poplin manufacture; its present position; foreign demand—Institute of science and art much wanted in Ireland—Particulars of silk factories in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively . 44

CHAPTER XIII.

Particulars of hemp, jute, horsehair, elastic, felt, hosiery, and lace factories in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively—Summary of particulars of spinning and weaving factories of all kinds, under the Factories Acts, in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively in 1868—Particulars of Ireland's progress in manufactures since 1862—Irish manufacture movements 48

CHAPTER XIV.

Approximate estimate of the value of the manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland respectively—Exports of the principal articles of British and Irish manufacture from British and Irish ports—Comparison of the coal, mineral, and manufacturing wealth of the two countries . . . 53

PAGE

CHAPTER XV.

Agricultural statistics of Ireland, how collected—Agricultural statistics of Great Britain, how collected—Area of Ireland; its subdivision—Agricultural tours in Ireland by Arthur Young, Mr. Wakefield, and Mr. Caird; their several reports on the soil and agricultural capabilities of several different districts in the four provinces 56

CHAPTER XVI.

The geological phenomena of Ireland, as attesting the natural fertility of her soil—Brief general view of the geological formations—Effects of igneous and aqueous agencies on the surface of the globe—Great variety of stratification in the British Isles: hence that natural mixture of soils so favourable to agriculture 65

CHAPTER XVII.

The soil, how formed; partakes largely of the character of the subjacent rock; how the natural mixture of soils is effected; extraordinary fertility of the Golden Vale—Deposits of sand and gravel; alluvial deposits; deltas—Two-fold advantage of a mixture of soils, mechanical and chemical—Constituents of plants, in varying proportions, in the soils of all rocks—Artificial mixture of soils by the skilful agriculturist, as exemplified in Norfolk and Belgium 69

CHAPTER XVIII.

The great central limestone plain of Ireland; its area and elevation—The bogs of Ireland; their area and site—Bog of Allen—Eskers—The drift or boulder formation—Three varieties of limestone in Ireland—The clay-slate formation; its mineral wealth; its soils—The mica-slate; its soils—The four granite districts of Ireland; granite soils—The Old Red Sandstone; its soils—The trap or basaltic formation; its soils—The New Red Sandstone—Rock salt deposit of Duncrue; its annual produce . . 71

CHAPTER XIX.

Elevation of the surface of Ireland above the sea—The coal measures washed away from Ireland—Rockiness of the soil; suitable to the moist climate—Pure sands and stiff clays unknown—Curious comparison of the fertile soils of England and Ireland 75

CHAPTER XX.

Origin of peat or turf; objects, ornaments, animal and human remains found in bogs; elevation above the sea, and depth of the bogs of Ireland—Lignite or wood coal—Marl; great improvement of soils effected by the use of marl; available for the reclamation of Irish bogs—Shell-sand and sea-weed manure—Proximity of England as a market for Irish produce; consequent great demand; effect on local supply 78

PAGE

CHAPTER XXI.

Harbours of Ireland; Cork harbour, the Irish naval station; its great *natural* advantages and importance to the United Kingdom—Ireland's *lakes or loughs*; legend of Lough Neagh—Royal and grand canals—*Rivers of Ireland*; the Shannon—Inland navigation of Ireland; of much less importance since the introduction of railways—Beauties of Irish lake and river scenery 82

CHAPTER XXII.

The climate of Ireland; would be improved by general drainage, arterial and local—Bad results of want of drainage—Importance of drainage, but imperfectly realized by Government, landlords, and cultivators in England and Ireland—Operations under Arterial Drainage Acts in Ireland; quite insufficient; what is required—Government hitherto not uniformly successful; account of Government drainage works on the Shannon; catchment basins of the Shannon and its tributaries; drainage sacrificed to inland navigation; inundations and saturations 150 miles along the Shannon—Arterial drainage a Government work; much wanted in Ireland; Ireland heretofore neglected by Government in this respect; next in importance to the land question 88

CHAPTER XXIII.

Present land-letting system of Ireland—Number of landed proprietors in Ireland, and in England and Wales, and Scotland respectively—Average size of estates in Ireland, and in England and Wales—Proportions of arable land to total area in Ireland, and in England and Wales, and Scotland respectively—Number of agricultural occupiers in Ireland, and in England and Wales—Average size of holdings in each country—Average number of occupiers to each proprietor—Number of farmers in each country—Average number of farmers to each proprietor 97

CHAPTER XXIV.

Number of agricultural holdings in Ireland; number and particulars of those of and under fifteen acres, and of those of over that size, respectively—By far the largest proportion of small holdings in Ulster; the small farmers of Ulster a comparatively prosperous class—Number of holdings in each province, classed according to size—Number, and other particulars of agricultural holdings in each province valued at under 10*l.*; the same valued at over 10*l.*—Labourers' allotments averaging about half an acre; a considerable increase in these—The area held by occupiers of fifteen acres and under, only one-eighth of the total area of the arable land of Ireland; synopsis with full particulars 100

PAGE

CHAPTER XXV.

Average size of farms in both countries; how arrived at; nearly three times as large in England and Wales as in Ireland—Counties of large and small holdings respectively in England and Wales; the same in Ireland—A system embracing a large proportion of small farms best suited to Ireland—Exaggerated notions about the excess of small holdings in Ireland—Has the small holding system had a fair trial in Ireland? . . 104

CHAPTER XXVI.

Tenant-right of Ulster defined; the principle of the custom; tenants' definition of it; landlords' power of increasing rent under it; landlords generally respect it; complaints to the contrary; prices paid for it; origin of the custom—The Devon Commission on tenant-right—Note, the Devon Commission 106

CHAPTER XXVII.

General term of leases in Ireland—Leases the exception; annual tenancies the rule—The Devon Commission thereon—Leases recommended by the Devon Commission; 'want of tenure' the general complaint—Important evidence of Judge Longfield and the Right Reverend Doctor Keane on this subject, before the Committee of 1865—Backward state of Ireland resulting from want of tenure, as evidenced by Doctor Keane; striking cases to that effect detailed 109

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Improvements, in England effected by the landlord; in Ireland by the tenant; Arthur Young, Mr. Caird, and the Devon Commission thereon—Improvements defined—The Honourable Judge Longfield's and Right Reverend Doctor Keane's evidence on the same subject in 1865 . . . 113

CHAPTER XXIX.

Poverty of Irish landlords—Absenteeism—Small number of proprietors in Ireland—Several non-resident agents—Want of sympathy between landlord and tenant—Summary of points of difference in the whole land system between England and Ireland 117

CHAPTER XXX.

Results of the points of difference in the English and Irish land-systems—Striking contrast of the agricultural aspects of the two countries—Contrast of the agriculture of Ulster and of the other provinces—Opinion of the 'Saxon in Ireland' on the backward state of Irish agriculture—Results of the exodus, seen in an excursion through the South of Ireland—Depopulation and decay of small inland towns and villages . . 121

PAGE

CHAPTER XXXI.

Remarkable decrease in the area of root crops in Ireland, notwithstanding the increase of live stock—History of the turnip culture of England—Coke of Norfolk—Wonders effected in English agriculture by Mr. Coke—The Holkham estate—'Marl and turnips have made the county'—Rape cake—Large expenditure by Mr. Coke in farm buildings and improvements—Large expenditure by his tenants in artificial food and manures 125

CHAPTER XXXII.

Belgium, the country of small farms—Barren sands transformed into the richest soils by man's industry—Incessant manuring and working of the soil; liquid manure—The Pays de Waes blooming like a garden, and supporting in abundance and happiness the densest population in Europe—Size of Flemish farms; wages, food, and condition of labourers—A striking contrast to Ireland 128

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Area of cultivated land in Belgium; area in the hands of proprietors; area worked by tenants; number of agricultural holdings; average size of holdings; number of persons depending exclusively on agriculture; number of cultivators; number to 500 acres of arable land; comparison with the number in Ireland; contrast presented by the agricultural aspects of Belgium and Ireland—The perfection of Flemish farming, the growth of many generations; the result of the cultivator feeling secure of enjoying the fruits of his labour—Land tenure system of Belgium; duration of leases; the fixed capital of farming found by the landlord; the tenant has to find only the working capital; the same in Rhenish Prussia—Leases in Belgium simple and inexpensive—Subletting never allowed in Belgium or Rhenish Prussia—the tenant leaving bound to give up his farm fully cropped; not allowed to remove hay, straw, or manure; fully compensated; arbitration where necessary; never any dispute; no matter what change of tenants, the land always in a state of the highest cultivation . 131

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Numbers of occupiers in Belgium as compared with Ireland—Extensive employment of human labour in Belgium—Comparison of the large farming of Norfolk and the Lothians with *la petite culture* of Belgium; the latter bears the palm—Farming of Rhenish Prussia and Saxony—Synopsis of the average size of holdings, and of the number of cultivators, in equal areas, in England, Ireland, Belgium, Rhenish Prussia, and the kingdom of Saxony 134

CHAPTER XXXV.

Conclusion that Ireland stands far below other countries in the scale of agricultural progress—Comparison of her actual economic status with those of

PAGE

England and Scotland—Assessed income of the three countries respectively; the same per head of their respective populations—Ireland badly worked for fiscal purposes—The settlement of the Irish question a matter of deep interest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the tax-payer of the United Kingdom—Shipping and railways of the three kingdoms respectively 137

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The exodus; the most alarming symptom of the backward condition of Ireland, and the more so that it has been an economic necessity—Increase in the population of England and Wales, and of Scotland respectively, 1841–1868; decrease in that of Ireland in the same period; increase in the population of France and of Belgium in the same period—Rate per cent. of all—The form in which the diminution has taken place in Ireland—The emigrants the most valuable part of the population; opinion of the Emigration Commissioners thereon—Vast emigration of 1847; interesting observations of the 'Times' thereon—Great increase of facilities to emigrate since then—Numbers of emigrants from Ireland in the ten years, June 1841 to 1851; the same, in the eighteen years from May 1, 1851, to July 31, 1869—Total decrease of the population since 1841—Classification of the emigrants by their ages and sexes; four-fifths under thirty-five years of age—Bad effects of this unceasing outward flow, wholly irrespective of the direct loss of population 141

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Application of the principles of economic science to the foregoing facts—The requisites of production; land, labour, and capital—Labour so much the principal as to be nearly the sole element of the cost of production—in few parts of the world the supply of labour more abundant than it has been in Ireland; nowhere less turned to account—Alleged want of capital in Ireland—Capital defined; is never allowed to remain idle; is constantly being consumed and reproduced 145

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Capital of two kinds, fixed and floating; fixed capital defined; floating capital defined—The net produce of a country; the only fund from which an addition can be made to capital; a considerable portion of this fund consumed by the unproductive classes; a considerable portion of it wasted by the productive classes: a great deal of it is saved and becomes capital—The aggregate value of articles consumed by the 'upper ten thousand' small compared with that of the food and other necessaries of the toiling millions—What constitutes the whole industrial community—Labourers a widely comprehensive class—Who the unproductive classes; largely swelled by the unemployed poor; for many generations a very numerous class in Ireland; the improvement of their condition might usefully have engaged the attention of British statesmen; and their employment that of the landlords of Ireland 150

PAGE

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Recapitulation—The capital of a country must, in the aggregate, come from the labour of that country; another country won't supply it; the greater the industrial activity and productive energy, the greater the capital created within the country—Would 10,000,000*l.* divided by England among the agricultural occupiers of Ireland make them a permanently richer class, the predial arrangements of the country remaining unchanged?—Deposits of the farmers of Ireland in the Irish banks—These indicate that want of capital is not the cause of the neglect of the agricultural improvement of Ireland—Great profits of the Irish banks, from the farmers' deposits at a low rate of interest 155

CHAPTER XL.

The inhabitants of a country may possess a considerable amount of wealth, not capital to the country; case in point; beneficial effects of a ninety-nine years' lease—Mountain improvement, or the creation of capital by labour, in 1766; the same tract in 1869—Another instance in 1766; another, 1837-65—Master Fitz Gibbon on the necessity of protecting, by legislation, the right of the tenant to his labour and capital thus invested—Money hoarded by tenants; tenants purchasers of property, sold in small lots in the Incumbered Estates Court 159

CHAPTER XLI.

It is not capital Ireland so much wants, as the removal of the existing impediments to the creation and free use of capital—If removed, industrial energy and habits of industry would rapidly grow—These qualities, in a certain sense, the most important part of a nation's wealth—The absence of these qualities and of the reserve fund they create, painfully illustrated in the Irish famine years 166

CHAPTER XLII.

Capital the result of saving—The three classes by whom saving may be effected—Savings of the labouring classes not as much as they might be—Savings banks in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, in 1867; amounts respectively received and paid out; deposits for the year, and total deposits to each head of the population in each country—Post Office Savings Banks in the three countries; great advantages thereof—Savings of landowners; very large in Great Britain; in Ireland very small—Savings chiefly effected by capitalists—The profit of the capitalist his inducement to save, as it is to employ his savings productively; complete security an essential condition to his doing so 169

CHAPTER XLIII.

Supply of the necessaries of life to the British metropolis—The breakfast table of the wealthy Londoner—man's inborn love of gain; the effective desire of accumulation; the healthy development of this principle very

PAGE

feeble in Ireland; this, not the fault of the masses of the people; Irishmen placed in a fair position most industrious—Migration to England of Connaught labourers for harvest work; much diminished of late—the Irishman has found for himself a new habitation across the Atlantic; his accumulations there; his sympathy with friends at home—Proportion of passages prepaid in America—Remittances of Irish emigrants to their friends in Ireland—Interesting case in point 172

CHAPTER XLIV.

Land, labour and capital, brought into combination in other countries; kept asunder in Ireland—Poverty and discontent the result—Striking instances of the successful industry of the Irish in other countries—Poverty and discontent beget agitation—The policy of all wise rulers to facilitate and promote the employment of the masses—Most interesting letter, and noble conduct of an Irish emigrant, quite apposite to this subject . . . 177

CHAPTER XLV.

Population, the life-blood of States—Decline in the population of Ireland; an economic necessity—England, in 1861, twice as densely peopled as Ireland—Total areas of England and Wales, and of Ireland respectively; areas of arable land; population in 1861; number of individuals to every 500 acres of arable land in each country—Common error, that there are proportionally a much greater number employed in agriculture in Ireland than in England and Wales; cause of this error—Occupations of the people, with the numbers in each class, in both countries; numbers of the class agricultural in each country; number of cultivators to 500 acres of arable land in each country—Cultivators in each country viewed in relation to the proportions of tillage and pasture 181

CHAPTER XLVI.

Extraordinary theory, that 500,000 cultivators are sufficient for Ireland—A reduction in the present number of agricultural holdings in Ireland not desirable; some of the small holdings might be consolidated and some of the large subdivided; 1,700,000 acres of reclaimable waste in these latter—Very large farms not suitable for Ireland—Mr. Caird's opinion to this effect—Value of live stock and crops of all the farms of thirty acres and under in Ireland; the same of all the farms of over thirty acres; the same per acre in each class 186

CHAPTER XLVII.

Opinions and evidence of several authorities on the suitable size of farms and the consolidation of holdings in Ireland—Synopsis of the consolidation of farms in Ireland since 1841, arranged in classes, according to size—Little change since 1851 in each class, or in the total number—Important evidence of the 'Times' Commissioner in 1869 as to the signal success of the small farm system, tried under favourable circumstances in Ireland . 189

PAGE

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Error of taking the large farms of Norfolk and the Lothians as a rule for the proportion of labour to be employed in all farming—This rule does not apply in England; much less in Ireland—The theory of 500,000 cultivators for Ireland applied to England; if carried out, England should reduce her number of cultivators 40 per cent.—Sir Robert Peel on the backward state of farming in England in 1850—A large proportion of land under grass in Ireland wholly unfit for permanent pasture—The tenant-at-will hesitates to sink his capital *in* the land; he prefers spreading it *on* the land—Immense expenditure of labour and capital required to bring the land of Ireland of the same improved state as that of Great Britain—Conclusion, that Ireland was rather under than over her due proportion of cultivators in 1861 200

CHAPTER XLIX.

Considerable decrease in the number of cultivators in Ireland since 1861—Rate of agricultural wages in Ireland; average in Ulster; average outside Ulster—Uneven distribution of labour in Ireland; difficulty of getting spare hands—Why wages are not higher in Ireland—How the agricultural gross produce, if doubled, would be distributed—The theory that would further reduce the population, a fatal error—Simultaneous increase of population, labour, capital, and wages in well-ordered States . . 204

CHAPTER L.

The agricultural production of Ireland might at least be doubled; this, now, more an Imperial than an Irish question—Ireland's difficulty henceforward, scarcity of labour supply—The condition of the small farmer and agricultural labourer in need of improvement—The evils of the uneven distribution of labour in Ireland in a great measure increased by the Poor Law rating by electoral divisions; rating by Unions preferable; a better system in England—Instances of the care taken of agricultural labourers by certain large proprietors in England; garden allotments to labourers strongly recommended; moral as well as material good results of landlords' consulting for the comfort of the labourers on their estates . . 208

CHAPTER LI.

How the interests of the whole community are involved in the land question—Main object of agriculture—Why God gave man the land—How land differs from other property—Total area of the British islands, respectively, and in the aggregate; arable area; number of landed proprietors; population—Present population of England and Wales per arable acre; the same of Ireland; the same of the United Kingdom—How the State is bound to promote the full development of the agricultural resources of these islands—Results of improved culture in England—Mr. Blacker's *laudable and successful exertions to improve agriculture* in Ireland; his

PAGE

principles of farming; his preference of small farms, as most suitable to the country—A very large proportion of the land of Ireland wholly unfit for permanent pasture—Results of Mr. Blacker's system in the county of Armagh; produce thereby increased threefold 213

CHAPTER LII.

Further results of improved culture—A fourfold increase of expenditure, resulting in a fourfold increase of gross produce; distribution of the gross produce, showing the proportions of rent, wages, and profit under the old system; the same, under the new or improved system—Judicious land-improvement the most remunerative investment for proprietors, and for tenants secure of their holdings—Instances of high percentage on money so invested 218

CHAPTER LIII.

The extension of improved agriculture ought to be the special care of Government—Why not have a Board of Agriculture presided over by a Cabinet Minister, as we have a Board of Trade?—Our corn and cattle ought to increase together—Neglect of tillage under the Roman Empire; its neglect in Ireland—Imports of foreign bread-stuffs into Ireland; the same into the United Kingdom—Comparison of imports of raw produce and manufactures from France into England, and of exports of the same from England to France, before and after the Commercial Treaty of 1860; the result greatly in favour of France—Great Britain suffers more than the Continent from strikes—An argument that she ought not to rely too much on her supremacy in manufactures—Important evidence before the Trades Unions Commission—Necessity of Great Britain developing her agricultural as well as her manufacturing resources 222

CHAPTER LIV.

Agriculture man's chief industry—Important difference between agriculture and manufactures—A general change in the land-letting system of these countries indispensable to the development of our agricultural resources—Illustrations of the evils of annual tenancy and of the benefits of leases in England 228

CHAPTER LV.

The remote causes of the evils of Ireland lie in the past; hence a brief review of Irish history essential to our inquiry—Territorial division of Ireland at the time of the invasion of Henry II. in the twelfth century—Manners and customs of the people—The Brehon laws; distinguished by their mildness, and in this respect resembling our modern jurisprudence—The Irish pre-eminently lovers of justice—At the period of the invasions of the Northern barbarians, Ireland the depository of the learning of Western Europe; hospitably receiving and gratuitously maintaining all students coming from Great Britain and the Continent—The honours paid learned

PAGE

men—Houses of hospitality; biatachs or hospitallers—Their proficiency in music; its humanizing effect—The Irish a pastoral nation—Tanistry and gavel-kind—Cosherings; coigny—The Irish worked their mines, and wrought skilfully in metals 232

CHAPTER LVI.

Invasion under Henry II. in 1169—He lands, and is acknowledged as lord paramount in 1173—The Pale—Great evils for centuries arising from the absence and neglect of the sovereigns and misconduct of the lords deputies and lords justices—Policy of these to prevent a fusion of the English settlers and the Irish—For the first four centuries the Irish excluded from the laws and privileges of the English, although frequently petitioning to be admitted thereto—The Parliament of Kilkenny in 1366—Its celebrated Statutes—In all the Parliament rolls till the reign of Henry VII., the Irish styled the 'Irish enemy;' treated as aliens, not as subjects—Emphatic condemnation of this policy by Mr. Hume and Sir John Davies—Sowing of dissensions between the Irish and Anglo-Irish—'Divide and rule,' the maxim of the chief governors and the Cabinet of England—Pleasing exception in the Government of Lord Deputy Perrot—His noble character 241

CHAPTER LVII.

Introduction of the Reformation into Ireland by Henry VIII.—Parliament of Dublin 1536—A more sanguinary era inaugurated by Elizabeth—Her large army—'Coin and livery'—All through her reign, the country desolated by war—The fifteen years' war of Tyrone—Cruelties inflicted therein—Famine and pestilence—Ireland loses one-half her inhabitants—Death of the queen; the conquest, commenced four centuries before, now complete 248

CHAPTER LVIII.

The confiscations; *sui generis*, a class in themselves, unexampled in any other country; condemned by all writers—'The more rebels, the more confiscations'—The favourite theory that the Irish and Papists should be entirely divorced from the ownership of the soil—Ireland to be planted by English and Protestants, the avowed policy of Government—Rebellion of O'Moore and O'Connor, and confiscations of the countries' of Leix and Offalie, now Queen's and King's Counties, in the reign of Edward VI.—Refusal of the tenants to quit; the lands cleared by force of arms—This the first extension of the Pale—The alleged rebellions of the Irish, generally, provoked by the encroachments of the English, and not levelled against Government—These forfeited lands distributed at the discretion of the lord deputy—Bad effects of this 253

PAGE

CHAPTER LIX.

Confiscations by Elizabeth; of Shane O'Neill's estates in 1568; of the Earl of Desmond's in 1586—Persecution of the Catholics by James I.—His assimilation of the land tenure of Ireland with that of England—Flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel—Confiscation of their estates and those of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty—The plantation of Ulster—The London Companies—Institution of baronets—The peasantry treated with hardship and injustice 257

CHAPTER LX.

James's design to extend the Plantation to the other provinces—Iniquitous attempts to deprive proprietors of their estates—The 'Discoverers,' their proceedings, resulting in the seizure, in the King's name, of the sea-board of Leinster from Dublin to Waterford, and five midland counties—The King next claims the whole province of Connaught and the county of Clare; large compositions and fines paid by the proprietors to secure their possessions 267

CHAPTER LXI.

Accession of Charles I.—The Catholics lay their grievances before the King—They petition him for a charter of graces, in consideration of their paying him 120,000*l.*—The money paid, and the graces withheld—Disreputable conduct of the Lord-Deputy Wentworth—The King's claim on Connaught revived—General actions for ejectment on the title instituted; bribery of the judges; intimidation and punishment of jurors not finding for the Crown—Fine, imprisonment, and death of Sheriff Darcy . . . 271

CHAPTER LXII.

Persecution and oppression of the Irish Catholics under the Stuarts—Court of Wards—High Commission Court—Castle Chamber—Torturing of jurors—Oppressions and exactions of the Ecclesiastical Courts—Description by cotemporaries of the established clergy of the day—Means employed for the planting of the Protestant religion in Ireland . . . 277

CHAPTER LXIII.

Rebellion of 1641—Infamous conduct of the lords justices; they force the lords and gentlemen of the Pale into rebellion—10,000,000 acres of profitable land assumed by the English Parliament to have been forfeited by the insurgents; 2,500,000 acres set apart to pay the expenses of the war—Confederation of Kilkenny—Peace concluded 285

CHAPTER LXIV.

Cromwell's wars in Ireland—His sanguinary policy—Effects of the eleven years' war, 1641–1652—Description of the desolation of the country by one of Cromwell's officers 292

PAGE

CHAPTER LXV.

Cromwell's further measures—Expatriation of the Irish—Illustrious descendants of expatriated Irishmen—The Irish Brigade; George II.'s remarks on its gallant bearing at the battle of Dettingen—Deportation by Cromwell of the Irish to the West Indies—High Commission Courts—Banishment of all Irish and Catholics to Connaught and Clare—Martial law established—Distribution of the forfeited lands among the soldiers—Persecution of the Catholics—All priests ordered, under pain of death, to leave Ireland; several discovered and executed 296

CHAPTER LXVI.

The restoration of Charles II.—His Declaration for the settlement of Ireland; full particulars thereof—The Acts of Settlement and Explanation—'The Magna Charta of the Protestants of Ireland'—The Court of Claims; only 600 claims heard out of 4,000; 3,400 loyal Catholics thus deprived of their estates for ever 304

CHAPTER LXVII.

Summary of the general result of the Act of Settlement in statute acres—Summary of the division of the whole property of the country after the execution of the Act of Settlement; total area in the hands of English Protestants; total area in the hands of the Irish—Accession of James II.; toleration extended to the Catholics; jealousy of the Cromwellians; the Revolution of 1688 thereby precipitated—Treaty of Limerick; its violation—Forfeitures under William III.—Final division of the whole property of the country 313

CHAPTER LXVIII.

The penal laws; those levelled against the religion of the Catholics; against their property; against their family peace; against their political and civil rights as subjects—Why called Laws of Discovery—Most demoralizing in their effects; most ably planned to effect their end—Illustrations thereof—Arthur O'Leary the outlaw; followed by the penal laws, after death—Case of Doctor Richard Walsh, Catholic Bishop of Cork, and Doctor Jemmett Brown, Protestant Lord Bishop 319

CHAPTER LXIX.

Relaxation of the penal laws; first 'concession,' in 1771, gladly accepted; subsequent concessions; dictated by expediency 327

CHAPTER LXX.

Brief review of the social and economic condition of Ireland after the accession of William III.—How the results of the misdeeds and misgovernment of the past then began to settle down into the determinate form in

PAGE

which they have been perpetuated to our day—Completely broken state of the nation; the chiefs all banished; illustrious Irishmen in other countries; none in Ireland—Lands rack-rented; tillage abandoned for pasture; lamentable condition of the peasantry; want of employment; injurious commercial restrictions; general depression and poverty of the nation . . 330

CHAPTER LXXI.

Land-letting system at the commencement of the eighteenth century—Origin of middlemen—Conacre—The middlemen described; their former idle, extravagant habits; their oppression of the tenantry—Common error about 'long leases at low rents in Ireland' exposed—The graziers; their large holdings at low rents—Former provision trade of Ireland; of Cork—Agricultural improvement neglected 335

CHAPTER LXXII.

High rents from war prices; reaction, on peace of 1815—Numerous small tenantry; the forty-shilling freeholders—Wages at the minimum—Market wages, and natural wages; the latter the foundation of the conacre system—Truck or barter of labour for use of potato ground; evils thereof—Comparison of labourers' wages and conacre-rent of 1776 and 1846—Miserable condition of the cottier-tenant at the beginning of this century—The farmers and cottiers then mere serfs; instances of the tyranny and oppression under which they suffered—Flaws in leases availed of, to their wrong 340

CHAPTER LXXIII.

Tithes; the peculiar burden of the poor man in Ireland formerly; the rich nearly altogether exempt—Tithe of agistment abolished by a resolution of the Irish House of Commons in 1735; its abolition made law by the Act of Union in 1800—Tithes thus thrown altogether on tillage—General mode of collecting tithes in Ireland; the proctor, the middle-proctor; the farming of tithes; sale of tithes by auction on the premises—Tithes a check to industry—Feelings of a poor cottier handing over one-tenth of his gross produce, a first charge, to the minister of a creed antagonistic to his own; the interior life of this poor cottier, as sketched by an English Member of Parliament, fifty years ago; his only cow seized for tithe—Such cases frequent; their results general exasperation and agrarian outrage—The evils of the tithe system frequently urged on the Executive, but with no effect; Mr. Grattan thereon in 1788—Great number of processes for tithes in quarter sessions; the costs of proceedings very heavy on the defendants 346

CHAPTER LXXIV.

Era of important political changes in Ireland, commencing about eighty years ago—Assertion of its independence by the Irish Parliament—Poynings' law—The appellate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords usurped

PAGE

by the British House of Peers—Appeal causes from the Irish to the British Peers—The Irish Barons of the Exchequer, in the last case, obey the British House; ordered into the custody of the Black Rod by the Irish House—Exciting controversy—Passing of the British Act of 1719, annihilating the independence of the Irish Parliament—Writings of Molyneux, Swift, and Lucas—Their immense sale, and effect 353

CHAPTER LXXV.

State of Ireland at the period of the American war—Resistance to tithes; Whiteboys, Levellers, and Hearts of Steel—Domestic troubles, and danger of foreign invasion; inability of Government to afford protection—The Irish Volunteers; their organization, and determined attitude; they demand free trade; the demand conceded; they next demand an independent legislature—Commencement of the great constitutional struggle for the independence of the Irish Parliament—Henry Grattan; moves the declaration of Irish Rights in 1780; defeated by Government—Meeting of the delegates of Ulster Volunteers at Dungannon, in 1782; their resolutions—Electrical effect of this meeting—The declaration of rights unanimously passed, April 16, 1782; unreservedly concurred in by the British Parliament, and conceded by the King—Independence of the Irish Legislature achieved 358

CHAPTER LXXVI.

Rapid and wonderful improvement of Ireland during the sixteen years of her legislative independence—The Parliament blind to its own interests, in not emancipating the Catholics—Parliamentary reform generally demanded; convention of the Volunteers for this purpose in 1783—Extraordinary proceedings in the capital; simultaneous sittings of the Volunteer convention in the Rotunda, of the Lords and Commons in College Green, and of the Privy Council in Dublin Castle—Legislative union of the two countries resolved on by Government—Government succeeds in dissolving the convention of Volunteers—Rebellion of 1798; strengthened the hands of ministers in their designs on the existence of the Irish Parliament, and threw the country back a generation—Passing of the Act of Union; final division—Articles of the Union—Questionable means by which it was passed 366

CHAPTER LXXVII.

Hopes of the Catholics from the Act of Union disappointed—Daniel O'Connell—The Catholic Association; the Catholic rent—The Clare election: O'Connell returned; refuses to take the Protestant oath at the bar of the House of Commons; intense excitement; Catholic emancipation carried . 370

PAGE

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

How the forty-shilling freeholders used to vote before the Clare election of 1828—Effect of the Clare election and the provisions of the Catholic Relief Act of 1829, on the land-letting system of Ireland; discontinuance of leases, and substitution of tenancy-at-will—Interference of the clergy in politics in Ireland—Strong claims of the priests on the confidence and affection of their flocks—Other concessions to Catholics—The Municipal Reform Act—Right Reverend Doctor Doyle's evidence on the Tithe Question in 1832.; general resistance to tithes; final settlement of the question by the Act of 1838 373

CHAPTER LXXIX.

The condition of the masses of the people from 1829 to 1846; no improvement; the labourer worse off than in the days of Arthur Young; want of a middle class; this want, to a great extent, caused by absenteeism—Extent and degree of destitution in Ireland before the famine years—The potato blight, and failure of oat crop, in 1846—Direct loss to the country of 16,000,000*l.*—The Poor Law; introduced in 1838; its expansion to meet the famine crisis—Government exertions to meet the calamity; individual and national benevolence — Embarrassments of the landlords; evictions; emigration 378

CHAPTER LXXX.

The poor first affected by the potato failure; gradually, in their turn, all other classes; the middle interests universally swept away; many of the head landlords also succumbed—The Incumbered Estates Court—Its statistics; its advantages; accompanied, in some instances, by great hardships—The clearing system; agrarian outrage; facts demanding the serious consideration of our legislators 385

CHAPTER LXXXI.

The Established Church in Ireland—Its bishoprics and their revenues previous to 1834; the same since 1834—Ecclesiastical Commissioners—Numbers of bishops, churches, livings, and clergy—Annual revenue of the Church—Revenue of Trinity College—Numbers of the principal religious denominations in Ireland—The Presbyterians and the Regium Donum—The Catholics and the Maynooth Grant—Remarks on the Church establishment; opinions of foreigners thereon—The operation of the voluntary principle among the Catholics of Ireland; its results 389

CHAPTER LXXXII.

Remedial measures for Ireland—The Church Act; its provisions; life interests preserved; commutation—Total capitalized value of the Church property; its proposed distribution—Feeling of the Catholics on the passing of the Act—The clergy of the now disestablished Church deservedly esteemed and respected by all denominations 397

PAGE

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

Brief review of the agricultural condition of Ireland; but little improvement the last twenty years; Mr. Caird's evidence to this effect; decreased growth of cereals—Strange theory that State interference in the land arrangements of Ireland would be a contravention of the principles of political economy; its fallacy demonstrated—A complete change in the land arrangements of Ireland demanded by public policy; circumstances favourably combining to render that change now practicable; statesmanship of Mr. Gladstone; enlightened views of Mr. Bright; power of the people of England resulting from Parliamentary reform—The principal remedial measures proposed on the land question: first, Master Fitz Gibbon's proposal; second, a law of compensation for unexhausted improvements; third, legalizing and extending all over Ireland the tenant-right of Ulster; fourth, Mr. Caird's proposals; a mode suggested of indirectly obliging landlords to grant leases; important opinion of an extensive land agent on Irish leases; fifth remedy proposed, fixity of tenure with a periodical adjustment of rent—Importance of the end to be attained—The great object security of tenure—600,000 farmers, secure in their holdings, a powerful garrison in the country—Vote by ballot—Abolition of the law of distress—The gradual creation of a peasant proprietary; Mr. Bright's proposal—Conclusion 401

CONTENTS *of* APPENDIX.

	PAGE
I. The Gulf Stream	423
II. The Arigna Ironworks	424
III. Coal-fields of foreign countries: statistics of their coal production and consumption	424
IV. Fine-spinning mills of England	433
V. Comparative cost of fuel for manufacturing purposes in Great Britain and Ireland	434
VI. Doctor John Lynch, author of 'Cambrensis Eversus'	435
VII. 'Giraldus Cambrensis'	436
VIII. Wentworth, Earl of Strafford	437
IX. Duke of Ormond	437
X. Dean Swift	438
XI. Depth of Mines	438
XII. Deltas	438
XIII. Granite works	439
XIV. Edmund Spenser	439
XV. Industry of Irish immigrants in various countries	440
XVI. Cosherers, Coigny, 'Spend me and defend me'	442
XVII. Irish Parliaments—Poynings' Law	443
XVIII. The London Companies—The Irish Society	444
XIX. Order of Baronets	449
XX. Henry Grattan	449
XXI. Daniel O'Connell	450
XXII. Trinity College Dublin	451

IRELAND

INDUSTRIAL, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

With only 105 representatives, out of 658, in the Imperial Parliament, and these 105 about equally divided into two opposing parties, completely neutralising each other's force, Ireland is utterly powerless for all purposes of effective legislation in her own affairs. Therefore it is a matter of no small congratulation to the United Kingdom, that the Irish difficulty has come home to the people of England; for by the people of England alone can that difficulty be solved.

Within the last two or three years, Englishmen have begun to ask one another, 'How long is this state of affairs to continue? How long is Ireland to be a menace and a danger, instead of a source of strength and security to the Empire? Are we governing Ireland as we ought? Is all statesmanship dead among us?'

The action of Parliament during the last session shows that this question, heretofore so often debated, only to be hopelessly dismissed, is now at length being brought to a practical solution in all its details. That the time has come for dealing with it once and for ever, has been affirmed by a large majority of that assembly which, elected by, and directly responsible to the people, is virtually the governing body of the State. This solemn decision of the House of Commons, or rather of the

nation through its elected representatives, is happily based on imperial, not on exclusively Irish grounds; for the plain fact, heretofore practically ignored in our legislation, is now on all hands fully admitted—that the welfare, moral and material, of the masses in Ireland, which can only coexist with a rule of strict justice, is an essential condition of the peace and prosperity of these realms.

At this juncture, therefore, it is all-important that the people of England—the sole arbiters of the cause—should be brought face to face with the real state of Ireland, past and present. I say 'past' advisedly; for all the ills of Ireland have their origin in the past. To apply remedies with success to an inveterate malady in a nation—a malady deep-seated and chronic—its causes must be laid bare to the view of the political physician. Otherwise his diagnosis will be far from accurate and complete. He will be but groping in the dark. Therefore, in dealing with what is called the Irish question, it is impossible to divorce the present and the past. They must be taken together.

In the year 1724, Dean Swift wrote as follows:—

> As to Ireland, the people of England know little more of it than they do of Mexico: farther than that it is a country subject to the King of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Irish papists, who are kept in awe by many troops sent from thence: and their general opinion is that it were better for England if this whole island were sunk into the sea, for they have a tradition that every forty years there must be a rebellion in Ireland.

I do not for a moment insinuate that these words of Swift apply at present; but I do say that in England, and in Ireland, there are many who have not leisure to study the Irish question as it requires to be studied. In fact, there is a general want of accurate information about Ireland. There are certain vague ideas about rebellions, confiscations, penal laws, and civil disabilities in the past; about Protestant ascendancy, defective land arrangements, poverty, discontent, agrarian outrage, and disaffection in the present. But these ideas are insufficient. Something more clear and definite is required.

Such being the case, it is in order to supply a want hitherto unsupplied, that this book has been written. Many able pamphlets have from time to time appeared on particular portions of the Irish question; but no work has been published dealing with the whole subject, including the history of the past, which especially, as regards the lamentable misgovernment of centuries, and the confiscations and persecutions for conscience sake, ought not to be omitted. Gladly would we all throw the veil of oblivion over these sad events; but if this were done, we should be unable to trace the evils of Ireland to their fountain head: and they must be so traced if we would apply effectual remedies. I have the less hesitation however in referring to this long series of wrongs, cruelties, and acts of injustice, that any allusion to them now can have no personal application; inasmuch as they are most strongly disapproved of and most emphatically condemned by all creeds and classes at the present day.

Having long and carefully studied the whole subject, and having visited all parts of the country, north, south, east and west, in making observations and collecting materials, I have endeavoured so to shape and group the several parts as at the same time to contribute the necessary information, in the least uninteresting form, and to carry out my argument in unbroken sequence, as will be perceived by such of my readers as take the trouble to accompany me, seriatim, from beginning to end.

I regret much the work has not devolved on abler hands; but I can say with sincerity that no one could have approached it in a spirit more free from political or sectarian bias. I have written, not as an Irishman or a Catholic, but as a British subject, and, I may be permitted to add, as one, yielding to none in devoted loyalty to the Crown, and an anxious desire to see established and consolidated on an enduring basis that which heretofore has had no existence—the real union of Great Britain and Ireland.

CHAPTER II.

NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF IRELAND—IS SHE ADVANCING OR RETROGRADING? —HOW TO JUDGE OF HER ACTUAL CONDITION.

ALTHOUGH admirably suited for some particular branches of manufacturing industry, Ireland is essentially an agricultural country. If she does not possess the coal-fields and iron which contribute so largely to the wealth and prosperity of England and Scotland, she is gifted by nature with a most fertile soil. Her plains are intersected by numerous large and, to a considerable extent, navigable rivers, affording an all but unlimited supply of water power, and endless facilities for irrigation and drainage; and her coasts are indented by several easily accessible, safe, and commodious harbours. The great markets of England are close beside her — markets that would readily absorb all her agricultural produce, were it, as it ought to be, twice as much as it is. Her climate, it is true, is moist; but it is singularly mild; so much so, that in the southern counties, the myrtle will live the winter through in the open air. The warm genial vapour of the Gulf Stream, but for which the British Isles would be locked in the eternal frosts of Labrador, first breaks upon her southern and western coasts, and thence diffuses its fertilising influence over all Northern Europe.[1] Whilst from the excess of that vapour, in particular seasons, Ireland is unsuitable for the extensive culture of wheat, she is indebted to it for her unrivalled pastures and her pre-eminent aptitude for green crops. Then there is an inexhaustible mine of wealth to be worked in her river and deep-sea fisheries. Her sons, too, as is evidenced by their untiring energy and steady accumulation in America, the Canadas, and Australia, are, under favourable circumstances, industrious and laborious. Yet, notwithstanding that Providence has thus lavishly endowed

[1] The Gulf Stream. See Appendix I.

her with the requisites of production, her great natural advantages are turned to but small account; so that, while other countries beside her are rapidly advancing in material prosperity, it is a vexed question whether, on the whole, she is progressing or retrograding. On this we shall be better able to form an opinion further on. Here, however, it may be observed that while Belfast, Dublin, and Cork wear an appearance of increasing prosperity, Limerick, Galway, and several of the inland county towns have very much dwindled; in some instances, to one-half of what they were formerly; and although there is a gratifying improvement in the style of farming of particular estates, a great increase in the number of live stock, and a marked advance in manufacturing industry, there are many seriously countervailing drawbacks. Indeed, the condition of the country outside Ulster is economically and socially far from satisfactory. With her agriculture, generally speaking, in a lamentably backward state, those who ought naturally to improve it—the young and healthy and vigorous peasantry—are, and have been for over twenty years, flying at the rate of over one hundred thousand annually from her shores; agrarian murders of an appalling character—the more so that they baffle detection (and these are her only serious crimes)—distinguish her from all other civilised nations; periodical plots and struggles against Government, and measures of repression, distract and discourage her feeble industry; and unfortunately, at home and in exile, the great majority of Irishmen hate that rule which, under happier auspices, they would love and uphold, but which they believe in their hearts to be the main cause of the miseries of their country.

It is a common case with those who treat of the Irish question to argue thus:—'The official returns show an increase in Ireland's railway traffic,' or 'in her area of tillage,' or 'in her number and value of live stock: therefore the country is improving, and all the talk about the backward state of Ireland is so much gratuitous assertion opposed to fact.' This line of argument is

obviously quite erroneous. A good or a bad harvest, a high or a low range of prices, or some other such accidental circumstance, may raise or depress the balance in our comparison of particular years. In a matter of this kind we must go beyond accidents; we must deal with essentials. Therefore when we proceed to inquire into the alleged backward condition of Ireland we have to investigate her actual industrial status, viewed in relation with her resources, or, in other words, her economic condition as it is, contrasted with what it ought to be.

There is another error against which we must also be on our guard—an error into which those at a distance are liable to fall; namely, arguing from circumstances of a merely local or temporary nature, and thus arriving at an altogether erroneous general conclusion. For example, a cattle show takes place; the Viceroy and several other influential persons attend it. Of course the gentry send in their prize animals, and the agricultural implement makers, English and Irish, exhibit their choicest and most improved specimens. All this is very useful, and reflects much credit on the energy and public spirit of the locality in which the show has been got up. But it is too common to generalize from these shows, and to take them as the exponent of the actual state of the whole country. Eloquent and interesting speeches, rather highly coloured, on the state and progress of Irish agriculture are delivered at the banquet usual on such occasions. These speeches, especially that of the representative of royalty, are reported by the press of the United Kingdom, and commented on in leading articles by the London journals. In some of those leaders everything is represented of a roseate hue, and surprise is expressed at the grumbling Irish farmers being so blind to the fact of their own prosperity:—

O fortunati nimium sua si bona norint!

The tone of exaggeration unconsciously adopted on such occasions is very apt, although not so intended, to mislead the public mind, especially in England, as to the real condition of the

country, and to leave impressions very different from what would be the result of an agricultural tour in Ireland, or a visit to Queenstown during the emigration season.

That Ireland has improved in some respects of late is happily the case; but that she is still in a very backward condition—far behind what she ought to be—is no less true.

In seeing our way to this conclusion we shall be greatly aided by a comparison of the country with the sister island. But, in making that comparison, we must allow to the fullest extent for the immense wealth accruing to Great Britain from her minerals and coal-fields; sources of wealth of which Ireland may be said to be wholly destitute. We must also take into account the advantage enjoyed by Great Britain in her fully matured textile and other manufactures; for manufactures are of slow growth, and those of Ireland, with the single exception of the linen trade, are so small as to count for nothing in the comparison.

CHAPTER III.

COMPARISON OF THE COAL AND MINERAL PRODUCTION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

LET us now briefly compare the coal and mineral production of the two countries.

QUANTITIES OF COAL AND OTHER MINERALS PRODUCED IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN THE YEAR 1866, TOGETHER WITH THE ESTIMATED VALUE AT THE PLACE OF PRODUCTION.[1]

	COAL	VALUE AT PLACE OF PRODUCTION
	Tons	£
Great Britain	101,506,794	25,376,698
Ireland	123,750	30,937
United Kingdom	101,630,544	25,407,635

[1] Statistical Abstract United Kingdom 1853-67, p. 124, and Hunt's 'Mineral Statistics.'

	PIG IRON	VALUE AT PLACE OF PRODUCTION
	Tons	£
Great Britain	4,521,772	11,304,430
Ireland	2,125[1]	5,313
United Kingdom	4,523,897	11,309,743

	FINE COPPER	
	Tons	£
Great Britain	9,818	897,175
Ireland	1,335	121,993
United Kingdom	11,153	1,019,168

	METALLIC LEAD	
	Tons	£
Great Britain	66,166	1,356,410
Ireland	1,224	25,099
United Kingdom	67,390	1,381,509

	WHITE TIN	
	Tons	£
Great Britain	9,990	885,368
Ireland	0	0
United Kingdom	9,990	885,368

	ZINC	
	Tons	£
Great Britain	3,130	68,562
Ireland	62[2]	1,354
United Kingdom	3,192	69,916

	SILVER FROM LEAD	
	Ounces	£
Great Britain	621,149	170,813
Ireland	15,039	4,138
United Kingdom	636,188	174,951

	GOLD	
	Ounces	£
Great Britain	743	2,656
Ireland	0	0
United Kingdom	743	2,656

OTHER METALS	£	EARTHY MINERALS	£
Great Britain	95,000	Great Britain	1,290,964
Ireland	0	Ireland	59,063
United Kingdom	95,000	United Kingdom	1,350,000

[1] Estimated from ore produced. [2] Estimated from ore produced.

Thus we find that the respective total values, at the place of production, of the coals and minerals of Great Britain and Ireland are as follow:—

	£
Great Britain	41,448,076
Ireland	247,870
United Kingdom	41,695,946

CHAPTER IV.

COAL-FIELDS OF IRELAND.

THERE are seven coal districts in Ireland, of which three are in Ulster, containing six collieries; one in Leinster, the chief coal district in Ireland, containing thirty-one collieries; two in Munster, containing twenty-nine; and one in Connaught, containing seven. Of these seventy-three collieries only thirty-four were working in 1867, their united produce that year being 125,000 tons; viz. 75,000 tons of anthracite[1] and small coal, burning without flame, from the Leinster and Munster fields, and 50,000 of bituminous, or flaming coal, from the Ulster and Connaught districts.

The coal formations of Ireland assume the appearance of ranges of small hills, with flattened tops, and are constituted of sandstone, slate, ironstone, clay, and coal, alternating with each other, the whole resting on mountain limestone,[2] and frequently disposed in basin shape. The Antrim district is an exception, as it rests directly on mica-slate, being overlaid by the basaltic or trap formation.

This district occurs at Ballycastle, in the extreme north of

[1] Anthracite (from the Greek ἄνθραξ, a burning coal). A hard compact variety of coal containing little or no bitumen, and consequently burning without flame; sometimes called glance coal, and blind coal.

[2] 'Mountain limestone;' so called by geologists, because in England, where it was first noticed, it rises in lofty hills, as in Derbyshire. In Ireland it is chiefly found in the great central plain, its average elevation being 300 feet above the level of the sea.

Antrim, the collieries occupying about a mile along the coast. It is of little value.[1]

The Monaghan district, lying between Moynalty and Carrickmacross, likewise of little value, rests on a detached layer of mountain limestone, surrounded by slate.

The Coal-island district, near Dungannon, county Tyrone, extending six miles by two, occupies an area of over 7,000 acres. It contains, according to Sir Richard Griffith, six workable beds of coal of considerable thickness, but it has the drawback of several faults or shifts. The Annahone basin in this district is but small and unimportant.

The Connaught field is constituted of the hills around Lough Allen, which forms its centre. It occupies large portions of Leitrim, Sligo, and Roscommon, and a part of Cavan. Its greatest length is sixteen miles; its greatest breadth about the same; its total area being about 180,000 statute acres. This district contains a large quantity of coal, and is rich in ironstone.[2]

The Leinster coal-field (Kilkenny and Castlecomer) is the most important in Ireland. It consists of a ridge of steep hills, about 800 to 1,000 feet high, extending for many miles through Kilkenny, Queen's County, and a part of Carlow. It is bounded on the east, south, and west by the rivers Nore and Barrow. The coal is anthracite, or glance coal, popularly called 'Kilkenny.' Fire-damp is unknown in this district.

[1] The Ballycastle collieries are of great antiquity. In 1770, the miners discovered a long narrow passage cut through the rock. On clearing away the incrustations from its sides, they found it was a gallery driven many hundred yards into the bed of coal, branching out into thirty-six chambers dressed quite square, and in a workmanlike manner. Here they found the remains of tools and of baskets used in the work, but in such a decayed state that on being touched they fell to pieces. At that time, now one hundred years ago, there was no tradition in the district of the mines having been anciently worked: so that coal-mining in Ireland must have been carried on at a very remote period.—Doctor Hamilton's 'Letters on the north coast of Antrim.'

[2] Arigna Ironworks. See Appendix II.

The Tipperary coal-field, closely adjoining the Leinster, from which it is separated by the river Nore, is a range of hills, 300 to 600 feet high. Having Killenaule and New Birmingham for its centre, it runs about twenty miles from Freshford to near Cashel. Its greatest breadth is six miles.

The Munster coal-field, consisting of a series of low hills, is very extensive, spreading through a considerable portion of Cork, Clare, Limerick, and Kerry; viz. from Kilfenora, on the north, to Killarney, on the south, through Ennis, Foynes, Newcastle, Charleville, and Kanturk. The principal mines are in the barony of Duhallow, in the county of Cork. The beds, though occupying a very great superficial area, are thin, except in Duhallow.

As already stated, all the coal mined south of Dublin is anthracite, burning without flame, and all north of Dublin is bituminous, or flaming.

The coal-fields of Ireland are economically of little importance, and yield merely a limited supply for local consumption; the total quantity now raised being only 125,000 tons, whilst it is estimated that at least 2,000,000 tons are imported annually from Great Britain.

The total area of turf or peat bog in Ireland is estimated at 2,830,000 acres. Of these, 1,576,000 acres are flat bog, spread over the central portions of the great limestone plain. The remaining 1,254,000 acres are mountain bog, mostly available for pasturage, and principally distributed through the hilly country, which ranges along the coast. The flat bogs supply, to a great extent, the deficiency of coal for domestic use; but are not available for manufacturing purposes, owing to the want of density of turf, and its consequent insufficient concentration of heat.

CHAPTER V.

COAL PRODUCTION AND STATISTICS OF THE PRINCIPAL COAL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES.

THE following is the production of coal in the several principal producing countries:— [1]

	Year	Tons		Year	Tons
Great Britain.	1867	104,375,480	Nova Scotia .	1865	527,000
Prussia . .	1865	23,400,000*	Bavaria . .	1865	435,602*
United States	1865	22,906,939	British India .	1866	405,000
Belgium .	1866	12,774,662	Spain . .	1863	401,297
France . .	1865	11,297,052	Hanover .	1864	340,000
Austria .	1863	4,494,000*	Electoral Hesse	1865	308,150*
Saxony . .	1863	1,902,175*	Russia . .	1865	128,571
New South Wales .	1866	900,000	Ireland . .	1867	125,000

The coal trade received its first impulse from the invention of the steam-engine; but its rapid growth dates from the introduction of railways. As its increased production and consumption are perhaps the surest test of industrial progress, I subjoin its statistics, for the last few years, in the United Kingdom.

Full particulars of the coal-fields and coal statistics of foreign countries will be found in the appendix.[2]

The production of the British coal-fields was set down at 30,000,000 tons in 1830. Its rapid increase will be seen in the following figures:—

	GREAT BRITAIN	IRELAND
	Tons	Tons
1855 . .	61,326,069 . .	127,050
1860 . .	79,917,198 . .	125,500
1865 . .	98,023,537 . .	127,050
1866 . .	101,506,794 . .	123,750
1867 . .	104,375,480 . .	125,000

[1] Collected from Parliamentary Papers, chiefly the Reports of Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation, of the countries in which they reside; and (for Great Britain and Ireland) Hunt's 'Mineral Statistics for 1867.'

* In the above is included brown coal or lignite, of which Prussia raises 5,000,000 tons, Austria 2,000,000, Saxony between 400,000 and 500,000, Electoral Hesse 150,000, and Bavaria 134,577. This coal, though inferior in heating power, is useful for many purposes.

[2] See Appendix III. Coal fields of foreign countries: and statistics of their coal production and consumption.

Summary of coal production in 1867 :—[1]

	No. of Collieries worked	Coal produced Tons
England	2,243	74,216,487
Wales	496	16,083,050
Scotland	485	14,125,943
Ireland	34	125,000
	3,258	104,500,480

The distribution of the British coal-fields will be best understood from the following summary of the coal produce of the United Kingdom in 1867 :—[2]

	Tons
Durham and Northumberland	24,867,444
Cumberland	1,512,514
Yorkshire	9,843,575
Derbyshire	4,550,550
Nottinghamshire	1,575,000
Leicestershire	1,150,000
Warwickshire	880,850
Staffordshire and Worcestershire	12,526,554
Lancashire	12,841,500
Cheshire	935,000
Shropshire	1,558,500
Gloucestershire and Somersetshire	1,975,000
Monmouthshire	4,569,500
South Wales	9,092,300
North Wales	2,371,250
Scotland, western district	6,228,575
„ eastern „	7,897,368
Ireland, South of Dublin, Anthracite and small coal	75,000
Ireland, North of Dublin, Bituminous	50,000
	104,500,480

Great Britain is most favourably circumstanced in her insular form, which affords so large a range of coast for her area, and brings the several seaports so close to the colliery districts. A comparison of the map of England with the above list of the several coal-fields will show at once how widely and conveniently they are distributed over the country. The temperate climate also is most suitable to the mining of coal, and its general use for industrial purposes.

[1] Hunt's 'Mineral Statistics of the United Kingdom for 1867.'

[2] Ibid. p. 86.

The exports of coal from the United Kingdom, in 1867, were 9,761,827 tons.[1] Of these the following are the principal:—

	Tons		Tons
France	1,949,483	Italy	418,860
East Indies	990,286	Spain	381,581
Germany	791,906	Mediterranean	365,836
Denmark	614,451	North America	277,176
Russia	544,000	Holland	260,527
South America	535,907	Sweden	258,509
Africa	523,082	Turkey	244,308
Prussia	435,934	Norway	197,311
West Indies	429,298		

With the steadily advancing demand, resulting from the extension of railways and the progress of manufactures, in the several countries, these exports are likely to increase largely. Deducting their present amount, and 2,000,000 tons shipped to Ireland, we have left the enormous quantity of over 92,000,000 tons of coal annually consumed in Great Britain, or about one-half the total production of the world. What a proof this of the vast manufacturing industry of the country!

CHAPTER VI.

GREAT BRITAIN STANDS ALONE IN THE FOREMOST RANK, AS A MANUFACTURING COUNTRY—BRIEF VIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FEW OF HER PRINCIPAL MANUFACTURES—INVENTIVE GENIUS OF HER SONS—USES OF BRITISH, IRISH, AND FOREIGN WOOL.

We have now seen that Ireland stands at the bottom of the list of coal-producing countries; a fact which, geologists remind us, ought not to be overlooked when we discuss the condition of that country. But for England, they observe, coal is the great material source of prosperity, and the chief element of her power. Owing to her extensive and apparently exhaustless strata of coal and ironstone, generally found in close juxtaposition,[2] Great Britain stands alone in the foremost rank as a manufacturing country. The cheap production of the steam engine, and of an

[1] Hunt's 'Mineral Statistics of the United Kingdom for 1867,' p. 139.

[2] Nearly all the iron mined in Great Britain is found in the coal-measures.

endless variety of the most powerful and complex machinery, and the abundant and cheap supply of coal as a motive power, place her in a position unapproachable by countries not similarly endowed. These advantages will perhaps be best exemplified by our taking a passing view of the rapid development and present state of a few of her principal manufactures.

About the middle of the last century the quantity of iron produced in Great Britain is estimated not to have exceeded 20,000 tons a year; but the use of pit coal, instead of wood, in the manufacture of iron having soon after become pretty general, the production steadily increased, being 68,000 tons in 1788, 125,000 tons in 1796, and 250,000 tons in 1806. Since that period, owing to the great demand for railways, iron ships, and other such works, the increase has been so rapid as to have reached 4,523,897 tons in 1866. The magnitude of Great Britain's manufactures in iron may, in some degree, be estimated from the following declared value of her exports to foreign countries in 1866:—

	Great Britain	Ireland
	£	£
Pig and puddled iron	1,524,676	19,971
Manufactured iron and steel	13,215,714	2,744
Old, for remanufacture	63,774	2,490
Total	14,804,164	25,205

In Ireland formerly, iron was extensively raised and smelted; but, on the exhaustion of her woods, and the substitution of coal in the manufacture elsewhere, her production necessarily fell off.

Still more wonderful is the increase in the cotton manufacture of Great Britain in the same period. In 1764 the consumption of raw cotton in the United Kingdom was less than 4,000,000 lbs., and in 1801 it did not exceed 56,000,000 lbs.; whereas in the ten years from 1852 to 1861, the imports averaged 1,050,560,623 lbs., reaching in 1860, the year of largest import, 1,390,938,752 lbs. Owing to the sudden falling off in the supplies, caused by the American civil war, the imports

fell to 523,973,296 lbs. in 1862, but they again attained their normal proportions in 1866, when they stood at 1,377,129,936 lbs.

The following synopsis of the annual imports of cotton into the United Kingdom, at three different periods, will not be uninteresting here, as illustrating the principle of supply meeting demand, and as an evidence of the great industrial power and material resources of Great Britain, in promoting the rapid increase of cotton cultivation in other countries to fill the void created by the large and sudden falling-off in the production in America:—

QUANTITIES OF RAW COTTON IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM VARIOUS COUNTRIES AND TOTAL EXPORTED, YEARS ENDING 31ST DECEMBER.[1]

Years	United States	Brazil	Mediterranean & Egypt	British East Indies	British West Indies & British Guiana	Other Countries	Total Imported	Total Exported
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1860	1115,890,608	17,286,864	44,036,608	204,141,168	1,050,784	8,532,720	1390,938,752	250,339,040
1862	13,524,224	23,339,008	65,238,320	392,654,528	6,126,064	23,091,152	523,973,296	214,714,528
1866	520,057,440	68,522,496	128,668,512	615,302,240	3,976,336	40,602,912	1377,129,936	388,952,368

The difficulty of England now appears to be to procure a supply sufficient for her requirements. It is stated that, at present, the machinery of the cotton mills of the country is 25 per cent. in excess of the raw material to employ it.

England owes much of her progress in manufactures to the inventive genius of her sons. Watt gave her the steam engine in 1769, and, about the same time, Hargreaves, Arkwright and Crompton, her all but miraculous spinning machinery. The machines of Arkwright and others were capable of spinning one pound weight of cotton into fourteen miles of thread. Little was it thought that those machines could be improved on. But in 1781 Samuel Crompton gave to the world his great invention, the mule-jenny, which is capable of spinning one pound weight of cotton into thread of considerably over two hundred miles.

[1] Parliamentary Papers, Statistical Account of the United Kingdom, No. 15, pp. 50, 51.

Of the impulse given to the manufacture by such inventions we shall be enabled to judge by the following brief particulars.

The spinning-jenny was invented by James Hargreaves in 1764. It consisted of eight spindles worked by a horizontal wheel. This machine was afterwards greatly improved, and made to work eighty spindles. It was followed, in 1769, by Arkwright's wonderful invention, the spinning-frame, 'called first the water-frame and afterwards the throstle, which, when put in motion, performs of itself the whole process of spinning, the workman merely supplying the roving or prepared material, and joining or piecing the thread when it happens to break.'[1] Both these distinct machines were combined in Crompton's beautiful invention called the mule or mule-jenny. The great advantage of the mule is that there is little or no strain, and thus immense progress has been made both in the fineness of the thread and the rapidity of the work. It was originally worked by the spinner's hands, but in 1792 William Kelly, of Glasgow, obtained a patent for working it by machinery. The result is that now one spinner can manage two mules of three hundred or four hundred spindles each—in fact, eight hundred or one thousand spindles.[2] What an advance this on the original spinning-wheel in use before Hargreaves' time, when each spinner managed only one spindle! But still more wonderful than the economy of human labour by machinery is the advance made in the quality and cheapness of the fabric produced.[3]

The woollen trade, next in importance, is the most ancient of British manufactures. It may be said to date from the fourteenth century, when King Edward III. invited a number of Flemish manufacturers to settle in England. Although much

[1] 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' vol. vii. pp. 442 to 445.

[2] 'I could find many cotton factories in my district in which mules containing 2,200 spindles are minded by one man (the "minder") and two assistants only, turning off daily 220 lbs. of yarn, measuring 400 miles in length.'—Reports of Inspectors of Factories, October 31, 1866, p. 33. Alex. Redgrave, Esq.

[3] Fine spinning mills of England. Appendix IV.

was done by the legislature at the close of the seventeenth century to promote the woollen manufacture of England at the expense of Ireland, that branch of industry was prevented, by a mistaken system of restrictions, from flourishing as much as it would otherwise have done. It received a great impulse from the invention of improved machinery in 1802, and the repeal of the prohibitive acts of Edward VI. and Mary in 1807. Its progress has been rapid during the last sixteen years, the real value of woollen goods exported from the United Kingdom having increased from 8,588,690*l.* in 1850 to 20,134,080*l.* in 1867, and the value of woollen and worsted yarn exported in the latter year being 5,822,227*l.*, and of wool 776,019*l.*, against 1,451,642*l.* and 623,915*l.* respectively in 1850.[1]

The following are the total imports of wool (sheep, lamb, and alpacca) from foreign countries at the same periods:—

	lbs.		lbs.
1850 . .	74,326,778	1867 . .	233,703,184

The imports were thus subdivided:—

	1850 lbs.	1867 lbs.
From Spain . . .	440,751	494,049
„ Germany . .	9,166,731	3,819,288
„ other parts of Europe	8,703,252	17,172,526
„ British South Africa	5,709,529	36,126,750
„ British East Indies	3,473,252	15,234,620
„ Australia . .	39,018,221	133,108,176
„ South America .	5,296,648	21,381,281
„ other Countries .	2,518,394	6,366,494
Total . .	74,326,778	233,703,184

The great increase which has taken place in the imports of wool from the British possessions in Australia, in South Africa, and the East Indies, is particularly deserving of note.

The German wool has been, to a great extent, superseded by Australian, and that of other countries of the Continent by East Indian and South American, in the British market.

[1] 'Statistical Abstract of United Kingdom,' No. 11, p. 52, and No. 15, p. 66.

The East Indian wool is used largely in the blanket and carpet trade; the South American is principally bought for the cloth trade in France and Belgium, and is lately being used by the Scotch tweed makers; and of the Australian about one-half is used in the cloth trade, the Scotch tweed trade and Bradford stuff trade, and the remainder goes to the Continent, where it is used for the same branches of manufacture.

The quantity of British and Irish wool grown is supposed to be equal in value to all the wools imported. It is principally used, in Bradford and Halifax for the stuff trade; in Halifax and Kidderminster for the carpet trade; in Rochdale for the flannel trade; in Leicester for the hosiery trade; and in Scotland for the coarse tweed and wincey trade, and hosiery.

The imports of all sorts of foreign wool, as we have just seen, closely approach to 240,000,000 lbs. weight.[1] Half this quantity is sold to go abroad. A great part of the British wool also goes abroad, but not to the same extent as a few years back, as French and other manufacturers have largely substituted Australian wool in the descriptions of goods which they formerly made from British wool.

The Scotch wool is largely used in Scotland for strong tweeds, which are a favourite dress, particularly with the agricultural classes. A great quantity of it comes to market from the grower saturated with grease and tar, a preparation which the severity of the winters in Scotland compels the farmers to use in autumn, in smearing the sheep, so as to turn off the rain from the animal. This precaution, as remarked by Mr. Caird, is unnecessary in the mild winter climate of Ireland.[2]

A large quantity of Scotch wool is also used in stocking yarns, which is an extensive trade and employs a number of hands in Aberdeen and other towns. The yarn is retailed by the drapers, and knit by the country people in their own homes

[1] In 1866 they were more than in 1867, being 239,358,689 lbs.

[2] 'Plantation Scheme.'

when the long nights of winter set in. These Scotch yarns are taken also in large quantity in the north of Ireland and the north-west coast, towards Donegal, where they are given out to the peasantry to be knitted into stockings, which, when gathered in, are scoured and classed into dozens of pairs, and exported to Liverpool, Glasgow, and London, to the wholesale warehouses, in many cases finding their way back to Ireland through the agency of the commercial traveller.

CHAPTER VII.

IRELAND'S MANUFACTURES—EFFECTS OF THE PRESENCE OF COAL-FIELDS ON MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

IRELAND contributes but a very small quota indeed to the manufactures of the United Kingdom. Her staples, down to the end of the seventeenth century, were the linen and the woollen manufactures. The former still flourishes; but the latter was extinguished by Act of Parliament in the reign of King William III. (1698), with a view 'to promote the woollen trade of England.' This is one of the many painful features which history reveals of the lamentable misgovernment of Ireland by England up to at least the third quarter of the last century; the uniform policy having been to sacrifice the commercial interests of the conquered race to those of the sister island—a policy alike disastrous to the economic progress of Ireland and opposed to the interests of the kingdom at large. The effects of this policy have abundantly survived to our day.

Ireland, as has been already observed, is mainly an agricultural country. Nevertheless, as is proved by the linen and sewed muslin trade of Ulster, and by the beautiful specimens of lace and embroidery executed by the children of the numerous

convent schools scattered all over the country, she has considerable manufacturing resources and capabilities. With her water-power and cheap labour, and her production of wool and flax, not to speak of other advantages, she ought certainly to be much more forward in manufactures than she is.

Manufacturing industry is a plant of gradual growth, taking many years to attain maturity.

Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo.

It is a plant which will bear no forcing process, nor can it be meddled with, or trained by State interference. It must be left entirely to its own free growth and natural development. Therefore, if the State once destroy a particular branch of manufacture in a country, the chances are it will never revive, or at least its resuscitation will be very difficult, nay, all but impossible, beside the vigorous growth of the matured manufactures of other countries. This chapter of Ireland's history is perhaps too much overlooked in the consideration of the Irish question; but it is one, of the bearing of which we cannot overestimate the importance.

Ireland, no doubt, labours under a disadvantage, generally speaking, in not possessing coal-fields; but in Cork, Dublin, and Belfast coals can be laid down cheaper than in London, where so many extensive and important manufactures are carried on. And Ireland certainly possesses several countervailing advantages. France, which comes next to Great Britain in manufactures, is, comparatively speaking, deficient in coal-fields, and is a large importer of coals from Belgium, England, and Prussia. Her production now has reached 12,000,000 tons, and this quantity is so far short of her requirements for industrial purposes, that she is obliged to import 8,000,000 tons. At Rouen, styled 'the Manchester of France' on account of its extensive and superior cotton manufacture, the price of coal is considerably more than double what it is in Manchester and Glasgow, and yet Rouen is the seat of several flourishing branches of

manufacture.[1] It is essentially a manufacturing city. In the department Seine-Inférieure there are over 130,000 weavers of cotton and woollen goods, of whom more than 100,000 are employed in Rouen and its immediate neighbourhood. In the city itself no less than one-half its population—viz. over 50,000 persons, men, women, and children—are engaged in the cotton manufacture alone. There are besides extensive manufactures of silks, velvets, hardware, and other products. The same remarks, as regards fuel, apply more or less to Elbœuf and Roubaix, the principal seats of the woollen manufacture, as well as to other manufacturing cities, of which the fabrics are well able to compete with those of England.[2]

Before we proceed further in this interesting branch of our inquiry, it may be well to observe that the general tendency is rather to exaggerate the direct effect of the higher cost of coal for manufacturing purposes in Ireland, as compared with England. In the cotton and woollen mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire, the estimated average cost of coal for the generation of steam, as well as for heating and lighting the mills, is only $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the total current expenditure, whilst wages are 33 per cent., and 10 per cent. may be taken as the interest on capital. Now, in Ireland the cost of coal is $2\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. of the

[1] Rouen and its neighbourhood are supplied from England, the North of France, and Belgium. The price of English coal at Rouen is composed of, per ton—

	fr.	cts.
Cost, free on board	10	0
Tax on entry	1	20
Freight	10	80
	22	0

The price of coal from the Department du Nord is composed of—

	fr.	cts.
Price at the mine	11	20
Tax on entry	1	20
Freight on barges	9	60
	22	0

'Exposé de la situation des industries, etc., dans la Seine-Inférieure et l'Eure,' p. 80. Rouen, 1869.

[2] See Index. French exports of manufactures to England.

total current expenditure, or 1½ per cent. more than in the manufacturing districts of England.[1] Therefore the direct or economic effect is not of so much consequence as is generally supposed. But that which may be called the indirect or moral effect is a much more serious consideration. For, it is obvious, the disposition to embark in manufacturing enterprise is much stronger where the fuel required for the motive power is raised on the spot, than where it must be brought from afar. If such a cause operates against a country without coal-fields, in the present days of marvellously facilitated intercourse and traffic, it must have operated much more in past generations, when the supply of coal from England to Ireland was a great deal more costly and more restricted. All that time Great Britain was rapidly progressing in manufactures.

But let us suppose that Ireland were now suddenly endowed with coal-fields, and that manufactures were thereupon generally established, they would have to struggle, in their infant state, against the matured manufactures of the sister kingdom. In other words, Great Britain would have had a long start in the race. However, on the whole, as has been already observed, it is not so much to the absence of coal-fields, although this is a very important item, as to mistaken legislation in the past, that we must attribute the backwardness of Ireland in certain branches of manufacture, which, but for such interference, there is good reason to suppose would now be flourishing in the country.

[1] From address by Sir R. Kane. See Appendix V., Cost of fuel for manufacturing purposes.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF THE LINEN AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES IN IRELAND—THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE SUPPRESSED BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT—THE LINEN MANUFACTURE PROMOTED BY THE STATE—BAD EFFECTS OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE.

FROM a very early date we find the Irish extensively manufacturing flax and woollen fabrics for their own use. In fact, from the most ancient records, it appears that their use of linen was carried to a wasteful extent.

Foreign writers (says Dr. Lynch,[1] writing in 1660) attest the great abundance of linen in Ireland. 'Ireland,' they say, 'abounds in flax which the natives spin into thread and export in enormous quantities to foreign nations. In former ages they manufactured very extensively linen cloths, the greater part of which was absorbed by the home consumption, as the natives allowed thirty or more yards for a single cloak, which was wound or tied up in flowing folds. The sleeves, also, were very capacious, extending down to the knees. But these had gone nearly out of fashion in 1566.' Need I mention the common linen covering, which the women wear in several wreathes on their heads, or the hoods used by others; for a woman was never seen without either the veil or a hood on her head, except the unmarried, whose long tresses were tastefully bound up in knots, or wreathed around the head, and interwoven with some bright coloured ribbon. If to these we add the linens for the altar, the cloths for the table, the various linen robes for the priests, and the shrouds which were wrapped around the dead, there must have been a great abundance of linen in Ireland.[2]

In an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1542, in the 33rd of Henry VIII., prohibiting the importation of Irish wool into England, linen and woollen yarns are enumerated as among the principal branches of trade in Ireland; and in an Act of the 13th Elizabeth, 1571, it is set forth that the merchants of Ireland had been exporters of these articles for more than one hundred years preceding. In many subsequent Acts of Parlia-

[1] Doctor Lynch, author of 'Cambrensis Eversus.' Appendix VI.

[2] 'Giraldus Eversus,' c. xii. See Appendix VII., Giraldus Cambrensis.

ment, and proclamations in the reigns of Charles I. and II., the linen and woollen manufactures of Ireland are objects of special attention.

In the early part of the 17th century, owing to the abundant growth of wool in Ireland, the Irish cloth manufacturers were able to undersell the English traders in foreign markets. In order to put an end to what appeared to him to be so serious a disadvantage to his countrymen, and furthermore, we are told, with a view to make the Irish more dependent on England, by compelling them to have recourse to that country for their clothing, the Lord Deputy, Wentworth,[1] took active measures, by legislation and otherwise, to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, and to encourage and promote that of linen in its stead.[2] With characteristic energy, he devoted himself to this favourite project, and spared neither exertion nor expense in carrying it into execution. The exportation of wool to foreign countries was prohibited by law; then with a view to substitute the linen trade, the soil of Ireland was examined in several places, and found most suitable for the growth of flax; the best flax seed was imported from Holland, skilled workmen were brought over from France and the Netherlands, looms were erected, and the linen manufacture thus received a considerable impulse.[3] To promote an object which he had so much at heart, the Lord Deputy embarked in it 30,000*l.* of his own money.[4]

Some thirty years later, the foreign exportation of woollen goods being still prohibited, Wentworth's successor, the Duke of Ormond,[5] aided and encouraged the Irish in working up their wool for home consumption. Woollen factories were established in Clonmel and Carrick, towns both belonging to the Duke, and skilled workmen were brought over from England. But the linen trade was still more indebted to Ormond for his

[1] Wentworth, Appendix VIII. [2] A.D. 1635.
[3] Strafford's letter of July 25, 1636. [4] Carte's 'Life of Ormond,' vol. ii. p. 342.
[5] Ormond, Appendix IX.

liberal and enlightened patronage. Having procured the passing of an Act by the Irish Parliament,[1] to encourage the growth of flax and manufacture of linen, he sent competent persons to the Netherlands to observe and learn the entire treatment of flax and the preparation of the thread, and to engage the best workmen. Five hundred families skilled in the linen manufacture were brought over from Brabant, and several others from France and Jersey, and factories were established, chiefly at Chapel-Izod near Dublin, from which were turned out excellent fabrics in cordage, sail-cloth, ticken, diaper, and linen.[2]

Although debarred from foreign markets, the woollen manufacture of Ireland flourished side by side with the linen to the end of the century, when the jealousy of the English traders and landowners appears to have reached its climax. Their long continued loud complaints ultimately succeeded in inducing the king and the parliaments of both countries to unite in compassing, as far as in them lay, the suppression of this most important branch of national industry.

On June 9, 1698, the English House of Lords adopted an address to the king (William III.) to the following effect:—

We, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, do humbly represent unto your Majesty that the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life, and goodness of material for making all manner of cloth, doth invite your subjects of England, with their families and servants, to leave their habitations to settle there, to the increase of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, which makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here; by which the trade of this nation and the value of lands will very much decrease, and the numbers of your people be much lessened here; wherefore we do most humbly beseech your most sacred Majesty, that your Majesty would be pleased, in the most public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all your subjects of Ire-

---

[1] 17 & 18 Charles II. c. ix. A.D. 1665; repealed by 4 Anne, c. iii. Irish Statutes, vol. iii. p. 157.

[2] Carte's 'Ormond,' vol. ii. p. 342.

land that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there hath long been, and ever will be, looked upon with great jealousy by all your subjects of this kingdom; and, if not timely remedied, may occasion very strict laws, totally to prohibit and suppress the same, and, on the other hand, if they turn their industry and skill to the settling and improving the linen manufacture, for which generally the lands of that kingdom are very proper, they shall receive all countenance, favour, and protection from your royal influence, for the encouragement and promoting of the said linen manufacture, to all the advantage and profit that kingdom can be capable of.

To this address the royal answer was as follows, as reported by the lord steward, June 10, 1698:—

That his Majesty will take care to do what their lordships have desired.

To the Commons address to the same purport, on June 30, his Majesty replied:—

I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, and to encourage the linen manufacture there, and to promote the trade of England.

On September 27 following, the lords justices in laying a Bill before the Irish Parliament for 'the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures in Ireland,' said:—

The settlement of this manufacture will contribute much to people the country, and will be found much more advantageous to this kingdom than the woollen manufacture, which being the settled staple trade of England, from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpose; whereas the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged, as consistent with the trade of England, but will render the trade of this kingdom both useful and necessary to England.

To which the Commons, which was merely a useful machine for carrying out the views of the Government and Parliament of England, dutifully replied:—

We pray leave to assure your excellencies that we shall heartily endeavour to establish a linen and hempen manufacture here, and to render

the same useful to England, as well as advantageous to this kingdom, and that we hope to find such a temperament in respect to the woollen trade here, that the same may not be injurious to England.

Accordingly, by an enactment of that session,[1] they levied an additional duty of 4*s.* on every 20*s.* value of broadcloth exported out of Ireland, and of 2*s.* on every 20*s.* value of serges, baize, kerseys, perpetuanas, stuffs, or any other sort of new drapery made of wool, or mixed with wool (friezes only excepted), which of course amounted to a prohibitive duty. At the same time an Act was passed by the English Parliament altogether prohibiting the export from Ireland of woollen goods (friezes excepted) to any parts save England and Wales. At this period, we are told, 'the Irish had a flourishing woollen manufacture; they made many slight fabrics not made in England; but all were crippled and put down by the prohibition of exportation.'[2]

That England did not immediately derive the benefit anticipated from this suppression of the Irish woollen trade will be seen from the following evidence of accurate observers in Ireland one hundred to one hundred and fifty years ago:—

The first and greatest shock our trade received (writes Dean Swift in 1726)[3] was from an Act passed in the reign of King William, in the Parliament of England, prohibiting the exportation of wool manufactured in Ireland: an Act (as the event plainly shows) fuller of greediness than good policy; an Act as beneficial to France and Spain as it has been destructive to England and Ireland. At the passing of this fatal Act the condition of our trade was glorious and flourishing, though no way interfering with the English; we made no broadcloths above 6*s.* per yard; coarse druggets, bays, and shalloons, worsted damasks, strong draught works, slight half-works, and gaudy stuffs, were the only product of our looms: these were partly consumed by the meanest of our people, and partly sent to the northern nations, from which we had in exchange timber, iron, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, and hard dollars. At the time, the current money of Ireland was foreign silver; a man could hardly receive 100*l.* without finding the coin of all the northern

[1] Irish Statutes, vol. iii. p. 472, 10 Wm. III. c. 5. A.D. 1698.
[2] A. Young, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 149. [3] Dean Swift. See Appendix X.

powers, and every prince of the empire among it. This money was returned into England for fine cloths, silks, &c., for our own wear, for rents, for coals, for hardware, and all other English manufactures, and in a great measure supplied the London merchants with foreign silver for exportation.

The repeated clamours of the English weavers produced this Act, so destructive of themselves and us. They looked with envious eyes upon our prosperity, and complained of being undersold by us in those commodities which they themselves did not deal in. At their instances the Act was passed, and we lost our profitable northern trade. Have they got it? No, surely; you have found that they have ever since declined in the trade they so happily possessed; you shall find (if I am rightly informed) towns without one loom in them, which subsisted entirely upon the woollen manufacture before the passing of this unhappy Bill; and I will try if I can give the true reasons for the decay of their trade and our calamities.

Three parts in four of the inhabitants of that district of the town where I dwell[1] were English manufacturers, whom either misfortunes in trade, little petty debts contracted through idleness, or the pressures of a numerous family, had driven into our cheap country. These were employed in working up our coarse wool, while the finest was sent to England. Several of these had taken the children of the native Irish apprentices to them, who, being humbled by the forfeiture of upwards of three millions by the Revolution, were obliged to stoop to a mechanic industry. Upon the passing of this Bill, we were obliged to dismiss thousands of these people from our service. Those who had settled their affairs returned home and overstocked England with workmen; those whose debts were unsatisfied went to France, Spain, and the Netherlands, where they met with good encouragement, whereby the natives, having got a firm footing in the trade, being acute fellows, soon became as good workmen as any we have, and supply the foreign manufactories with constant recruit of artizans; our island lying much more under pasture than any in Europe. The foreigners (notwithstanding all the restrictions the English have bound us up with) are furnished with the greatest quantity of our choicest wool. I need not tell you, Sir, that a Custom-house oath is held as little sacred here as in England, or that it is common for masters of vessels to swear themselves bound for one of the English wool ports, and unload in France or Spain. By these means the trade in these parts is in a great measure destroyed,

[1] Dublin.

and we were obliged to try our hands at finer works, having only our home consumption to depend upon.[1]

Before Lord Strafford's administration (writes the Reverend Doctor Campbell, from Cork, in 1775) the Irish indraped their own wool, not only for home consumption, but for the foreign market. At that time it became the policy of England to make the woollen manufacture her staple; for even so late as the reign of Elizabeth, she was supplied from the Hans Towns. It was a dispute with them about certain duties which provoked the queen to prohibit the importation of their cloths, and thus, of course, set the English looms at work.

In the infancy of the manufacture, it was perhaps justifiable, upon the principles of expediency, to suppress all competition as much as possible. But if, by tying up the hands of the Irish, we have only employed those of the French; if, instead of monopolising the market, we have furnished them with materials to supplant us at it, ought not the same motives of self-interest, which prompted a prohibition of the manufacture of wool in Ireland, now prevail to encourage it?

The fact is, we have totally lost the Turkey woollen trade, and the French have got it. The French are dispossessing us of the Portugal trade also; their provisions being cheaper, they can afford double the price for Irish wool that we can, and yet undersell us. Nay, such is their demand for these raw wools that their price is enhanced beyond the reach of the Irish manufacturer.

Till of late they used to export from hence, in spite of all prohibitions, considerable quantities of coarse camblets and other stuffs to Lisbon; but now that business is entirely over—the French having got their wool, have also got possession of the market.

It is observed by the best writers on this subject that the woollen manufacture in France rose upon the ruins of that of Ireland: her workmen, whose trade and religion were reprobated at home, betaking themselves where both found protection and encouragement.[2] The propagation of the French manufacture was doubly indebted to the decline of the Irish: first for the hands and then for the material, it being admitted that the French cannot work up their own wools for foreign markets without an admixture of one-third, at least, of a different staple.

France, then, must have Irish wool almost at any price, which is

---

[1] Letter on the miserable state of Ireland, 1726. Swift's Works, vol. vii. p. 194. Edin. 1824.

[2] The number of skilled workmen who left Ireland at this period is stated at 20,000.

such a temptation to smuggling that not all the navy of England can prevent it, especially when the wool of this country is first conveyed publicly to England, and thence clandestinely to France. But what force can never achieve, a relaxation in the navigation laws would soon effect. The Irish would then work up that wool they now export, and, by thus withdrawing the material, would speedily stop the exportation of French woollens.

Such were the considerations which suggested those excellent lines, in a late letter to the queen, by Lord Clare; the truth of whose painting, and the force of whose reasoning none can sufficiently admire who have seen Ireland and weighed this subject.

And oh! might poor IERNE hope,
In sober freedom's liberal scope,
To ply the loom, to plough the main,
Nor see Heaven's bounties poured in vain;
Where starving hinds, from fens and rocks,
View pastures rich with herds and flocks,
And only view, forbid to taste,
Sad tenants of a dreary waste.
For other hinds our oxen bleed,
Our flocks for happier regions feed,
Their fleece to Gallia's looms resign,
More rich than the Peruvian mine;
Her fields with barren lilies strown,
Now white with treasures not her own.
In vain IERNE's piercing cries
Plaintive pursue the golden prize;
While all aghast the weaver stands,
And drops the shuttle from his hands.
Barter accurst! But mad distress
To ruin flies from wretchedness,
Theirs be the blame, who bar the course
Of commerce from her genuine source,
And drive the wretch his thirst to slake
With poison, in a stagnant lake.
Hence, ports secure from every wind,
For trade, for wealth, for power designed,
Where faithful coasts and friendly gales
Invite the helm and court the sails,
A wide deserted space expand,
Surrounded with uncultured land.

Thence POVERTY, with haggard eye,
Beholds the British streamers fly;
Beholds the merchant doomed to brave
The treacherous shoal and adverse wave,
Constrained to risk his precious store
And shun our interdicted shore.
Thus BRITAIN works a SISTER'S woe;
Thus starves a friend, and gluts a foe.[1]

CHAPTER IX.

PARTICULARS OF WOOLLEN AND WORSTED FACTORIES IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND RESPECTIVELY—PROGRESS OF IRELAND IN THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE SINCE 1862.

As time wore on, with the spread of civilisation and the increased facilities of intercourse and traffic, the foreign market became of much greater importance to every branch of manufacture. Consequently, while the woollen trade of England grew and flourished that of Ireland declined. Thus the legislative measures for 'the discouragement of the woollen trade of Ireland and the promotion of that of England' were ultimately quite successful in accomplishing the object for which they were devised. If the woollen manufacturers of England suffered from Irish competition in foreign markets two centuries ago they do not so suffer now, as may be seen by the following declared values of woollen goods, exported by both countries to foreign parts in 1866:—

Great Britain . . .	£21,795,971
Ireland	246[2]

A striking contrast is also presented by the subjoined particulars of the woollen and worsted manufactures in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively in 1868:—[3]

[1] 'Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland,' pp. 193–197.

[2] Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom, No. 15, p. 67, and Return of Exports from Irish ports, 1863 to 1867 inclusive.

[3] Parliamentary Return, Factories, July 22, 1868, p. 28.

	No. of Factories	No. of Spindles	No. of Power Looms	No of Gigs	Amount of Moving Power		Total Numbers Employed
					Steam	Water	
WOOLLEN FACTORIES							
England & Wales	1,420	4,997,168	42,571	2,533	34,880	7,626	101,938
Scotland . .	193	410,827	3,418	106	3,678	2,264	14,760
Ireland . .	45	24,776	215	26	4,075	1,339	10,483
Total. .	1,658	5,432,771	46,204	2,665	42,633	11,229	127,181
SHODDY FACTORIES							
England & Wales	104	101,290	995	88	1,525	130	3,187
Scotland . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ireland . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total. .	104	101,290	995	88	1,525	130	3,187
WORSTED FACTORIES							
England & Wales	687	2,499,420	71,556	35	43,416	1,724	128,410
Scotland . . .	14	55,762	110	1	1,155	236	3,414
Ireland . .	2	2,008	—	—	—	46	72
Total. .	703	2,557,190	71,666	36	44,571	2,006	131,896

Here we see that of all kinds of woollen goods Great Britain has 2,418 factories, driving 8,064,467 spindles, working 118,650 power-looms, and employing 251,709 persons; whilst in Ireland there are only 47 such factories, 26,784 spindles, 215 power-looms, and 10,555 persons employed.

But Ireland has made most satisfactory progress in the woollen manufacture in the last six or seven years, as appears by the following comparison of the Parliamentary returns of 1862 and 1868:—

WOOLLEN AND WORSTED	No. of Factories	No. of Spindles	No. of Power Looms	Amount of Moving Power		Total number of persons employed
				Steam	Water	
1862 . . .	42	23,274	123	68	672	1,037
1868 . . .	47	26,784	215	4,075	1,385	10,555
Increase . . .	5	3,510	92	4,007	713	9,518

One particular branch of this manufacture (namely, tweeds) has lately been brought to a very high state of perfection in the South of Ireland, and is fully equal to, and able to compete successfully with, the Scotch and English fabrics. I have this fact from a large purchaser of the goods, who has no interest whatever in the establishment in which they are manufactured, and I am glad to record it here as an additional proof of the capabilities of Ireland for manufacturing industry.

CHAPTER X.

OTHER IMPOLITIC TRADE RESTRICTIONS—IRELAND DEBARRED FROM THE EXPORT OF CATTLE, MANUFACTURE OF GLASS, AND COLONIAL AND FOREIGN TRADE.

It may well be inferred from the present condition of her linen trade, that but for the unjust and impolitic State interference above detailed, Ireland would now enjoy an equally flourishing woollen manufacture; especially as her great limestone plains are fully as suitable for the production of wool as her soil is for the growth of flax.

But it was not the woollen trade alone which suffered from this illiberal spirit of commercial jealousy. Embodied in several legislative enactments, it operated no less detrimentally against other branches of Irish industry. For instance, the Irish had a considerable trade in supplying cattle to England. But, in 1663, rents having fallen in England to the extent, on the whole, of 200,000*l.* a year, their decline really resulting from the interruption of trade by foreign war, and the emigration of the industrious Puritans, driven by persecution to Holland and the American colonies, was falsely attributed to the importation of live stock from Ireland. Accordingly, an English Act[1] was im-

[1] 15 Chas. II. chap. vii. A.D. 1663; an Act intituled 'For the encouragement of trade'! This Act imposes a duty equal to a prohibition on the importation of cattle into England from Ireland, and debars Ireland from

mediately passed, prohibiting the importation of fat cattle from Ireland after the first day of July in every year. On this, the Irish commenced killing the animals, and exporting quantities of salted meat to England. But here again they were baffled; for a further Act was passed by the Parliament, sitting at Oxford, in 1665, for a perpetual prohibition of the importation of all cattle from Ireland, 'dead or alive, great or small, fat or lean.' Thus deprived of their usual trade with England, and debarred from foreign commerce—not to speak of the restraints by which their manufactures were fettered—the people of Ireland suffered severely. However, notwithstanding their poverty, when, in the following year, an appeal was made to them by the Lord Lieutenant, on behalf of the sufferers by the Great Fire of London, a contribution was readily voted by the Privy Council, Lords and Commons of Ireland. The country had little gold or silver to offer, as its small reserve of the precious metals had been nearly exhausted by the national distress, and the drain consequent on the emigration of skilled workmen and others, who were forced, by the restraints on trade and religious persecution, to remove in large numbers to France and other parts of the Continent, taking with them considerable sums of money. The contribution, therefore, consisted of cattle; but, instead of being gratefully acknowledged, the gift caused a loud and angry outcry in England, where it was represented as being 'a political contrivance to defeat the prohibition of Irish cattle.' After the Act had been in operation three years, it was found that the rents of England had not increased, and that the Irish had become so impoverished as not to be able to pay their subsidies. The King himself urged the repeal of the Act, but in vain; the English Commons persisting in pronouncing the importation of cattle from Ireland 'a nuisance'—the Lords styling it 'a detriment and mischief.'

Again, in several minor industries, Ireland's endeavours to

all direct exports to the British Plantations, save victuals, servants, horses, and salt, and imports, save through English ports.

cultivate a trade with England were forthwith met by prohibitory statutes. Availing of her capabilities for the manufacture of glass, she was immediately stopped by a law prohibiting the exportation of glass from Ireland, and its importation into Ireland from any country save England. Then, all trade with Asia and the Mediterranean ports was interdicted to her, so as to prevent interference with the monopoly of the London merchants. The American colonies, too, were forbidden ground to her traders, who were prohibited any export or import trade with them, except through ports in England or Wales.

The reasons for this extraordinary legislation are thus set forth in the preamble of the English Act, 15 Chas. II., chap. vii.:[1] 'To make this kingdom a staple, not only for the commodities of those plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places for the supplying of them, and it being the usage of other nations to keep their plantation trade to themselves.' As other nations did the same, Ireland was thus shut out from the New World, and a considerable part of the Old in Asia and Africa.[2] In fine, the interests of Ireland were altogether ignored in this cruel commercial code, which, devised for the benefit of her more powerful sister, remained in force, with some occasional partial mitigations, until 1778, when the difficulties of the American war, and the determined attitude of the Irish Volunteers forced on a reluctant Government those measures of justice which worthier and more enlightened considerations ought, long before, have suggested. Looking back through her dark annals, it is melancholy to see how the statesmen of each successive generation, apprehending a rivalry where they ought to have recognised an identity of interests, appeared to have had little concern to make Ireland in reality an integral part of the empire. They evidently did not hold the opinion, that 'the wealth of Ireland is as much ours as that

[1] Confirmed, without any exception whatever, by the English Act 7 and 8 William III. chap. xxii.

[2] See 'Commercial Restraints of Ireland,' p. 157. Dublin, 1779.

of Cornwall and Northumberland;'[1] but, on the contrary, with the solitary exception of the encouragement of the linen trade, they maintained, as essential to the prosperity of England, a commercial system directly conducing to Ireland's being steeped in chronic poverty and discontent.

This short-sighted policy, which threw the great bulk of the population exclusively on the land for their support, is the more to be lamented, as the agriculture of Ireland suffered all through, and still suffers, save in Ulster, from the absence of those benefits which accrue to agriculture from a certain proportion or admixture of manufactures in a country. This is seen in the manufacturing counties of England and Scotland, and in parts of Ulster, where the rate of wages is higher, and the condition of the people better than in the purely agricultural districts; and where, in the great centres of manufacturing industry, there is a market for his produce close beside the farmer's door.

CHAPTER XI.

PROGRESS AND THE PRESENT STATE OF THE LINEN MANUFACTURE IN IRELAND—CONSUMPTION AND GROWTH OF FLAX—INADEQUATE SUPPLY—REMARKABLE DECREASE IN ACREABLE PRODUCE—NECESSITY OF INCREASED GROWTH, OUTSIDE OF ULSTER—LAUDABLE EXERTIONS OF THE BELFAST FLAX EXTENSION ASSOCIATION—PARTICULARS OF FACTORIES—INCREASE SINCE 1862—FLAX FACTORIES IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND RESPECTIVELY—IMPORTANCE OF THE SPEEDY SETTLEMENT OF THE LAND QUESTION TO THE LINEN MANUFACTURE OF IRELAND.

THE desire of promoting the linen trade in Ireland, in substitution for the woollen, led to the mistaken system of bounties on the exports of linen and imports of flax seed and hemp, which, commencing with the Linen Board in 1710, continued for about 120 years. The manufacture was carried on in all other parts of Ireland as well as Ulster until about the year 1825, when the importation of Scotch and English yarns, made by machinery,

[1] Campbell's 'Philos. Survey,' p. 344.

began to supersede the Irish hand-spun article. The result was extreme depression in the Irish trade for some years. The question then arose, whether Ireland should adopt the improved system and machinery, introduced in the sister kingdom, or altogether lose her linen trade. Happily the former alternative was adopted. The spinning of linen yarn by machinery was first practised in Ireland in 1805, when it was tried, in a small way, in the county of Down, and on a more extended scale in Cork. However, it appears not to have been successful; for, in 1821, when George IV. visited Ireland, all the yarn was made by hand. Thirty years later there were 70 flax spinning factories in the country. In 1862 there were 79, driving 592,981 spindles, while there are now 94, driving 905,525 spindles. The total number of flax spinning and weaving factories in Ireland at present is 143, and the numbers employed are 57,050, against 100, and 33,525 respectively in 1862.[1]

It is a notable fact that the revival of the Irish linen trade dates about the period of the cessation of the system of bounties and protective duties, 1830. The capitalists then engaged in it, thrown on their own resources, met the competition fairly, by the erection of flax-spinning machinery, the initiative having been taken by Messrs. Mulholland, of Belfast. The trade thus became concentrated in Ulster, gradually disappearing from the other provinces, where only hand-spinning was known. At present the greater part of the cloth is made by power looms, of which there were 12,969 in the flax factories of Ireland in 1868, against 4,666 in 1862;[2] but still a considerable proportion (of the finer kinds) is woven in the houses of the small farmers, to whom the yarn is given out by the manufacturers.

With the great increase of spindles and power looms that has taken place in the north of Ireland within the last few years, an abundant supply of the raw material on the spot, at a moderate price and of suitable quality, is indispensable to the linen manufacture of Ireland.

[1] Parliamentary Returns of February 11, 1862, and July 22, 1868.
[2] Ibid.

The soil in many parts of the country, and the climate, are admirably suited to the growth of flax; and yet the quantity grown in 1868 was not much more than one-half of what was required for the manufacture, viz.:—

	Tons
Consumption, 900,000 spindles at 8 stone per annum	45,000
Growth in Ireland, 206,446 acres at 19½ stone	25,160

The year's imports—8,000 tons—were about balanced by the exports; and the manufacturers had to draw largely on the stocks in hand for their supply.[1]

Ireland cannot look to the foreigner to make up this deficiency of 20,000 tons, having regard to the great demand of continental spinners, and the high price she should pay—a price economically impossible to her, in her competition with cotton. Therefore the improvement and extension of Irish flax culture are imperatively called for—improvement in Ulster, and extension in the other provinces.

The growth in 1868 was:—

	Statute acres
Ulster	192,222
The other provinces	14,224
Total	206,446

Ulster appears to be 'over-flaxed,' as we may infer from the area grown, as well as from her decrease of acreable produce. It is generally admitted that once in nine years is the most that flax should be grown in the same land.[2] The following is the percentage of the total area under tillage devoted to flax in the four provinces in 1868:—

	Acres in crop	Acres in flax		
Ulster	1,870,532	192,222	or 10·27	per cent.
Connaught	731,463	6,249	„ 0·85	„
Leinster	1,593,362	5,168	„ 0·32	„
Munster	1,351,978	2,807	„ 0·21	„
Ireland	5,547,335	206,446	„ 3·72	„ [3]

[1] The imports of 1867 were 6,594 tons, and the exports 8,497.

[2] Some farmers are content with seven years; however, nine are much safer.

[3] Second Annual Report, Flax Extension Association, p. 8.

Here, when we take into account that all kinds of soil are not suitable to the growth of the plant, we must see that Ulster grows fully as much, or rather more than she ought. Therefore extension outside of Ulster is the only way of supplying the 20,000 tons short of the annual requirements of the country.

The fresh soils of the other provinces, even though the farmers are not accustomed to the crop, yield a better return than the 'over-flaxed' land of Ulster.

In the years 1866 and 1867 the produce per acre was, in—

	1866 Stone	lbs.	1867 Stone	lbs.
Ulster	24	8	22	0
Munster	28	6	25	4
Leinster	31	9	26	3
Connaught	27	11	27	1 [1]

How much better still would not the produce of these three provinces become by an improved culture, under proper instruction!

The falling off in the acreable produce of flax in Ireland (that is, in Ulster, where nine-tenths of the entire crop are grown) is very remarkable, as exemplified by the following table. It will be seen that the yield per acre has nearly decreased to one-half from the highest.

Year	Acreage under Flax	Gross produce	Yield per acre	
		Tons	Stone	lbs.
1850	91,040	22,427	39	5
1855	97,106	23,428	38	9
1860	128,595	23,760	29	8
1861	147,866	22,568	24	6
1862	150,070	24,258	26	3
1863	214,099	42,646	31	12
1864	301,693	64,506	34	6
1865	251,534	39,561	25	2
1866	263,507	40,991	24	12
1867	253,257	35,392	22	5
1868	206,446	24,987	19	5
1869	229,178	No return.[2]		

[1] Second Annual Report, Flax Extension Association, p. 8.

[2] Ibid. p. 25. There is no return as yet of the yield of 1869; but it is expected to average 21 stones per statute acre.

Flax is the most costly, troublesome and precarious of all crops, being either highly remunerative, or most unfavourable in its return, according as it is grown and prepared for market. This leads us to the important question of the improvement of the cultivation.

Much has been done in this respect by the Flax Extension Association, established in Belfast. An admirable code of instructions for the culture and manipulation of the fibre has been drawn up and extensively circulated; monthly markets have been established, at which buyers from Northern spinners meet the farmers of the South and West, and prizes for scutched flax have been given by the Association, to be awarded by local agricultural societies in these districts. Then, with a view to improved hand-scutching, stocks and handles of the most approved construction, procured from Holland, are being sent to the several districts where hand-scutching is practised, as models from which others can be made.

Government, too, has very properly interposed, having granted in annual sums, from 1864 to 1869 inclusive, 17,000*l.*, or an average of nearly 3,000*l.* a year, for the purpose of paying practical instructors in the growing and saving of flax, to be sent out by the Royal Dublin Society and the Royal Agricultural Society of Ireland, to the several districts of the South and West.

But, it is much to be regretted, these highly commendable exertions have not been attended with the desired success. There is a considerable falling off in the area of the crop since 1864. In that year the enhanced demand for linen, during the cotton famine consequent on the American civil war, had its effect, and the area under flax in Ireland increased to double that of two years previous, being 301,693 acres in 1864, against 150,070 in 1862. It fell again to 206,446 acres in 1868, but shows an increase of 23,000 acres in 1869.

In the following table will be found the acreage annually devoted to the crop in each province, since 1862 inclusive:—

ACREAGE OF LAND UNDER FLAX IN IRELAND.

Year	Ulster Acres	Connaught Acres	Leinster Acres	Munster Acres	All Ireland Acres
1862	146,489	1,486	821	1,274	150,070
1863	207,347	2,472	2,098	2,182	214,099
1864	278,143	8,582	7,388	7,580	301,693
1865	233,191	7,405	5,858	4,979	251,433
1866	245,356	6,719	7,262	4,170	263,507
1867	234,630	7,321	8,058	3,248	253,257
1868	192,222	6,249	5,168	2,807	206,446
1869	211,044	9,080	5,258	3,796	229,178

The following is the increase of scutching mills in the same period :—

	1861	1868	Increase
Ulster	1,013	1,420	407
Leinster	13	47	34
Munster	7	41	34
Connaught	4	34	30
	1,037	1,542	505

There has also been a great increase of flax factories, spindles, power looms and work-people employed, viz :—

Year	No. of Factories	No. of Spindles	No. of Power Looms	Amount of Moving Power		Total number of Persons employed
				Steam	Water	
1862	100	592,981	4,666	10,710	2,384	33,525
1868	143	905,525	12,969	21,595	3,466	57,050
Increase	43	312,544	8,303	10,885	1,082	23,525 [1]

It will be seen, by the following particulars of the flax factories in the United Kingdom, in 1868, that Ireland takes the lead of England and Scotland in this important manufacture :—[2]

[1] Parliamentary Returns, 1862 and 1868.

[2] Parliamentary Return, Factories, July 22, 1868, p. 30.

FLAX FACTORIES	No. of Factories	Number of Spindles	Number of Power Looms	Amount of Moving Power		Total Numbers employed
				Steam	Water	
England and Wales	128	474,168	5,086	8,623	1,018	21,859
Scotland . .	134	264,220	12,985	11,330	834	40,020
Ireland . . .	143	905,525	12,969	21,595	3,466	57,050
Total . .	405	1,643,913	31,040	41,548	5,318	118,929

The present position of the great staple trade of the country demands the most serious consideration, as evidenced by the above figures and facts. The acreable produce of the flax crop has very much declined, and has nearly reached that point at which it will cease to remunerate the grower, at the price the manufacturer can afford to pay him. This, however, can be met by the laudable exertions of the Belfast Association to promote improved cultivation. But a much greater difficulty remains. An increased growth of 20,000 tons outside of Ulster is required; in other words, an increased area of 160,000 acres annually devoted to the crop in Leinster, Munster and Connaught. This would be only 4½ per cent. of their total area under tillage, against 10¼ per cent. in Ulster, it is true; but these provinces grew only 2,000 tons (on 14,224 acres), in 1868; and it is far from likely that the farmers of the South and West, holding their land on an annual tenancy, determinable by a six months' notice to quit, will extensively enter on the cultivation of a crop involving a nine years' rotation.[1]

[1] Since the above was written, I have received the return of 1869, which shows an increase in the area of flax grown in Ireland of 22,732 acres, representing about 3,000 tons. Of this increase 3,910 acres are outside of Ulster, and 18,822 are within that province. Notwithstanding this, fully 100,000 acres more would be required, to be devoted annually to the crop in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, as flax growing in Ulster is overdone.

Irrespective of other weighty considerations, to be treated of further on, we have here, in the interests of our great linen manufacture alone, an irresistible argument for the prompt and thorough settlement of the land question in Ireland. The staple manufacture of England likewise suffers just now from a scarcity of the raw material. But there is this difference—that cotton cannot be grown at home. The supply of flax, on the contrary, lies in our own hands. With suitable soil and climate, in connection with the existing machinery for promoting its extension and improved cultivation, there is no doubt that enough would be produced for the manufacturers' requirements, if the farmers outside of Ulster were secure in their tenure, and thus in a position to put all their labour and capital into the land.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COTTON MANUFACTURE IN IRELAND; ITS HISTORY, PRESENT POSITION, AND PROGRESS SINCE 1862—PARTICULARS OF COTTON FACTORIES IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND RESPECTIVELY—THE SEWED MUSLIN TRADE OF ULSTER—LACE WORK—HISTORY OF THE IRISH POPLIN MANUFACTURE; ITS PRESENT POSITION; FOREIGN DEMAND—INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE AND ART MUCH WANTED IN IRELAND—PARTICULARS OF SILK FACTORIES IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND RESPECTIVELY.

THE cotton manufacture was introduced into Ireland in 1777. Owing to its monopoly of the home trade it prospered, in some degree, until the year 1816, when the system of bounties and import duties, by which it was mainly supported, ceased. Its present state, as compared with the great cotton manufacture of England and Scotland, will be seen in the following return of cotton factories in the three countries, in the year 1868.[1]

[1] Parliamentary Return, Factories, July 22, 1868, p. 27.

COTTON FACTORIES	No. of Factories	No. of Spindles	No. of Power Looms	Amount of Moving Power		Total Numbers employed
				Steam	Water	
England & Wales	2,405	32,539,778	344,719	171,403	7,673	357,052
Scotland .	131	1,583,674	31,864	18,509	1,961	39,809
Ireland .	13	124,611	2,746	1,121	395	4,203
Total .	2,549	34,248,063	379,329	191,033	10,029	401,064

That Ireland is making some progress in the cotton manufacture is evidenced by the following comparison of the years 1862 and 1868 :—[1]

IRELAND	Cotton Factories	Spindles	Power Looms	Moving Power		Numbers Employed
				Steam	Water	
1862	9	119,944	1,757	909	290	2,734
1868	13	124,611	2,746	1,121	395	4,203
Increase .	4	4,667	989	212	105	1,469

The sewed muslin trade of Ulster deserves special notice. Its head-quarters are in Belfast, and until lately it gave employment to over 300,000 persons, chiefly females, in all parts of the province, and in some of the counties of Munster and Connaught. Patterns on muslin are given out by the Irish and Scotch manufacturers, or their agents, to the country districts to be worked, the annual value of the manufactured goods being estimated at 1,500,000*l.* Latterly, owing to a change of fashion, this trade has considerably diminished.

The females of Ireland have peculiar aptitude for this kind

[1] Returns of 1862 and 1868.

of work, and also for lace. Beautiful specimens of both may be seen by the tourist in the several convent schools throughout the country. There is a considerable demand for the work in England, where the nuns contrive, through the kind co-operation of some benevolent ladies, to dispose of quantities, for the benefit of the children. In several schools as much as 1,000*l.*, and in some 1,500*l.*, are thus earned by the girls in the year.

The silk manufacture was introduced into Ireland, at the commencement of the last century, by the French Huguenots, who had left France in numbers on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Its principal branch is tabinet, or Irish poplin, a mixture of silk and wool, a manufacture in which Ireland has distanced all competition. One hundred years ago, Dr. Campbell praised 'the superior perfection to which the Irish have brought poplins, some of which, called *tabinets*, have all the richness of silk.'[1] In 1778 they are thus described by Arthur Young:—

> The tabinets and poplins of Ireland (a fabric partly of woollen, partly of silk), did that island possess a greater freedom in the woollen trade, would find their way to a successful market throughout all the south of Europe. A friend of mine travelled France and Spain, with a suit of that pleasing fabric among others, and it was more admired and envied than anything he carried with him. This is a manufacture of which we have not a vestige in England.[2]

There are two leading factories of poplins in Dublin. They do not spin their material; neither do they employ any power looms. The work, which requires very delicate manipulation, is all done by hand looms. These two factories use 330 hand looms, and have 500 persons employed. There are also three minor factories, more of a retail character, but producing excellent fabrics.

With regard to the general poplin trade, it is most gratifying to be able to state, that during the past few years it has

[1] 'Philosophical Survey,' p. 201. [2] 'Tour in Ireland, 1776-8.'

largely increased. Formerly, there were constant exertions made to induce the Irish people to wear this fabric, as one of national manufacture. Of late, however, the promotion of the trade has been based on sounder principles, and manufacturers have directed their attention more to the introduction of poplins as an article of regular sale in the English, continental, and foreign markets. Consequently, instead of resting on the small and precarious trade which could be developed in this country, the manufacture of Irish poplins has now attained a large and, what there is good reason to hope, will prove to be a permanent sale in most parts of the world. They are very largely sold in the United States, and throughout the Continent. At present the Dublin manufacturers have their hands full with foreign orders, including some for two of the continental courts.

Dress poplins are now almost exclusively sold either perfectly plain, or in tartans, stripes, or very small simple figures. There are also manufactured curtain fabrics, of a rich description, many of them 63 inches wide. These are generally brought out with a pattern on them, and are capable of receiving the highest classes of art design; and it is through having adopted such classes of design that the Dublin manufacturers have succeeded in selling these materials extensively to the leading upholsterers throughout England, the Continent, and America.

In concluding my brief notice of this interesting manufacture, in which Ireland stands without a rival, I would direct attention to a great public want, to be supplied in connection with it and other branches of Irish industry; and I feel I can best do so in the words of a gentleman (a poplin manufacturer), to whom I am indebted, among others, for much valuable information on the subject:—

We had great hopes that previous to this [1] some steps would have been taken by the present Government to redeem the promise of their predecessors, to establish an Institute of Science and Art. We much

[1] September 1869.

regret that we cannot perceive any sign of this institution being established. Nothing can be more injurious to every branch of art manufacture than the want of such an institute. The Irish designer, admitted to be brilliant and fertile in his imagination, finds his genius cramped by being unable to resort to such collections of artistic models as are so freely at the disposal of the British and continental artists.

Subjoined are the statistics of the silk manufacture in the United Kingdom in 1868:—[1]

SILK FACTORIES	Factories	Spindles	Power Looms	Moving Power		Numbers employed
				Steam	Water	
England and Wales .	587	1,148,408	14,511	5,886	649	39,956
Scotland . . .	2	11,298	108	—	—	621
Ireland (weaving only)	2	—	6	11	—	440
Total . .	591	1,159,706	14,625	5,897	649	41,017

In 1862 Ireland had two silk factories, one weaving, and one spinning and weaving; driving 1,182 spindles, working 14 power looms, and employing 134 persons.

CHAPTER XIII.

PARTICULARS OF HEMP, JUTE, HORSEHAIR, ELASTIC, FELT, HOSIERY AND LACE FACTORIES IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND RESPECTIVELY—SUMMARY OF PARTICULARS OF SPINNING AND WEAVING FACTORIES OF ALL KINDS, UNDER THE FACTORIES ACTS, IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND RESPECTIVELY IN 1868—PARTICULARS OF IRELAND'S PROGRESS IN MANUFACTURES SINCE 1862—IRISH MANUFACTURE MOVEMENTS.

I NOW subjoin the particulars of factories, not already enumerated, in England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, in 1868:—[2]

[1] Parliamentary Return, Factories, July 22, 1868, p. 34.
[2] Ibid. pp. 31, 32, 33.

	No. of Factories	No. of Spindles	No. of Power Looms	Amount of Moving Power		Total No. of persons employed
				Steam	Water	
HEMP FACTORIES						
England and Wales .	19	3,478	33	631	15	1,330
Scotland . . .	4	2,824	55	253	—	492
Ireland . . .	3	5,024	—	66	—	412
Total	26	11,326	88	950	15	2,234
JUTE FACTORIES						
England and Wales .	8	8,658	411	924	—	1,760
Scotland . . .	31	74,471	2,788	5,900	240	12,127
Ireland . . .	2	48	720	67	15	283
Total	41	83,177	3,919	6,891	255	14,170
HORSEHAIR FACTORIES						
England and Wales .	15	10	46	88	—	828
Scotland . . .	2	20	—	33	—	283
Ireland . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	17	30	46	121	—	1,111
ELASTIC FACTORIES						
England and Wales .	45	3,576	1,443	817	—	3,821
Scotland . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ireland . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	45	3,576	1,443	817	—	3,821
FELT FACTORIES						
England and Wales .	4	—	10	6	—	19
Scotland . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ireland . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	4	—	10	6	—	19

HOSIERY FACTORIES	No. of Factories	No. of Hand Frames	Heads of Circular Frames	Flat Frames moved by Power	Amount of Moving Power		Total numbers employed
					Steam	Water	
England and Wales .	90	1,192	9,046	1,681	588	—	6,419
Scotland . . .	2	41	3	61	10	—	141
Ireland . . .	1	15	14	—	4	—	20
Total . . .	93	1,248	9,063	1,742	602	—	6,580

[1] Parliamentary Return, Factories, of July 22, 1868, p. 33.

LACE FACTORIES[1]	No. of Factories	Amount of Moving Power		Total numbers employed
		Steam	Water	
England and Wales .	186	1,257	84	6,755
Scotland	—	—	—	—
Ireland	—	—	—	—
Total	186	1,257	84	6,755

Ireland had no hemp, horsehair, elastic, felt, hosiery, or lace factory under the Factories' Acts in 1862. She now has three factories of hemp, and one of hosiery. Of jute, she had five factories in 1862, driving 1824 spindles, and employing 442 persons, but having no power looms. She has now two factories of jute, driving only forty-eight (doubling) spindles, but working 720 power looms, and employing 283 persons.

The following general summary will enable us to take all in at one glance :—

TOTAL NUMBER OF SPINNING AND WEAVING FACTORIES OF ALL KINDS, UNDER THE FACTORIES' ACTS, IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, RESPECTIVELY, IN 1868.[2]

	No. of Factories	No. of Spindles, of all kinds[3]	No. of Power Looms	Amount of Moving Power		Total No. of persons employed
				Steam	Water	
England & Wales	5,698	41,775,954	481,381	270,044	18,919	669,674
Scotland .	507	2,403,096	51,328	40,868	5,535	111,606
Ireland .	198	938,381	13,910	25,818	4,866	72,963
Total . .	6,403	45,117,431	546,619	336,730	29,320	854,243

[1] Parliamentary Return, Factories, of July 22, 1868, p. 33. [2] Ibid, p. 35.
[3] Particulars of Spindles :—

	No. of Spinning Spindles	No. of Doubling Spindles	No. of Billy Spindles	No. of Spindles of all kinds
England and Wales .	37,943,414	2,714,434	1,118,106	41,775,954
Scotland . . .	2,123,949	248,692	30,445	2,403,096
Ireland . . .	925,881	12,500	—	938,381
Total . . .	40,993,244	2,975,626	1,148,561	45,117,431

Here we see, that in 1868 Great Britain had 6,205 spinning and weaving factories, in which were 44,179,050 spindles, 532,709 power looms, and 781,280 persons employed; while in Ireland there were only 198 such factories, numbering 938,381 spindles, 13,910 power looms, and 72,963 persons employed.

Ireland, however, exhibits marked progress in manufactures generally during the last six or seven years, as proved by the following comparison of spinning and weaving factories of all kinds, under the Factories' Acts, in Ireland, in 1862 and 1868 respectively:—[1]

IRELAND	No. of Factories	No. of Spindles	No. of Power Looms	Amount of Moving Power		Total No. of persons employed
				Steam	Water	
1862 . .	158	739,205	6,560	11,938	3,376	37,872
1863 . .	198	938,381	13,910	25,818	4,866	72,963
Increase .	40	199,176	7,350	13,880	1,490	35,091

We have already seen the increase in the several branches in detail. The general improvement in the quality of the goods is another gratifying evidence of steady progress.

It is well known that almost all the manufactured articles used in Ireland, save linens, are British or foreign products. There are British and French millinery and silks; British, French, Danish, and Hungarian gloves; English cloth, cottons, muslins, and ribbons; English soap, candles, ironmongery, hardware, and glass; in fact, almost everything in daily use by rich and poor – all imported and paid for by Irish raw agricultural produce. Some well-meant but vain attempts have from time to time been made to promote manufactures in the country, in the form of what is called an Irish manufacture movement; that is, an agitation to induce a general undertaking or resolution to use articles of Irish manufacture rather than English or foreign, without reference to their relative

[1] Parliamentary Returns, Factories, 1862, 1868.

quality or cheapness. Thus, for instance, gingham balls have been got up, at which the ladies' dresses and gentlemen's waistcoats were of Irish gingham, a coarse, stiff, linen material, fit only for the inmates of workhouses, and used for cheap clothing for the poor by charitable societies in Ireland!

An amusing anecdote is related of O'Connell, who was once holding forth in Dublin at an Irish manufacture meeting, when he was suddenly interrupted by some factious person in the crowd asking him if the handkerchief he held in his hand was of Irish manufacture? The Liberator promptly replied: 'Yes, and my coat, and the man in it;' thus adroitly evading an awkward cross-examination, bringing down the applause of the meeting, and turning the laugh against his opponent. The great Irish tribune was obliged to join in the popular cry of the day; but doubtless O'Connell's shrewd intellect must have realized the uselessness of such movements. The public will always buy and sell in the best market; and it is not by such futile devices, but by producing an article which it will be the interest of people to buy, that the manufactures of a country can be promoted.

It is gratifying to find that Ireland is steadily progressing in several minor industries, as well as those above noted; such as the ornamental paper and stationery trade, the pottery at Belleek, where an excellent article is turned out, and other matters which she is beginning to supply at home, and even to export to England.

CHAPTER XIV.

APPROXIMATE ESTIMATE OF THE VALUE OF THE MANUFACTURES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND RESPECTIVELY—EXPORTS OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF BRITISH AND IRISH MANUFACTURE FROM BRITISH AND IRISH PORTS—COMPARISON OF THE COAL, MINERAL, AND MANUFACTURING WEALTH OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.

In the absence of accurate statistics, it is impossible to estimate closely the total produce of the manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland; but, as we have, from official documents, the value of the exports to foreign countries, and as the quantities retained for home consumption are, on the whole, considered to be about equal to those exported, we are able to make a fair approximation to the total amount.

The total declared real value of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom exported from Great Britain and Ireland to foreign parts in the year 1866 was 188,917,536*l.*, viz.:—

From Ports in Great Britain	£188,723,332
„ Ireland	194,204

But, in instituting a comparison of the two countries, it will be necessary to deduct the value of all exports of agricultural produce, of which Ireland contributes a much larger proportion than is set down to her in the official returns. Thus, for example, her shipments of butter to foreign parts are in most instances sent on steamers to Liverpool and other British ports, and are thence trans-shipped on vessels bound to the ports of final destination, and so are enumerated as British shipments. Again, the enumerated exports of provisions, to the amount of 385,724*l.* from Great Britain and 1,102*l.* from Ireland, in 1866, are not fair criteria; inasmuch as Ireland exported to Great Britain, in 1865, 364,881 head of cattle, 34,350 calves, 398,846 sheep and lambs, and 504,224 swine, and thus largely aided, or

filled up the void created by, the exports of provisions from British ports. But, even though this were not the case, it would be necessary to make these deductions, as our object just now is a comparison of the mineral and manufacturing resources only of the two countries. It will be well also to omit beer, ale, and spirits, as being manufactured directly from agricultural produce, and almost exclusively for home consumption; and beer and ale being perhaps, after bread, the principal articles consumed of native production.

As we already have the value of coals and minerals, we must omit the exports of coal, culm, and unwrought metals.

We then have, as follows, the declared real value of the principal articles of British and Irish manufacture exported from Great Britain and Ireland respectively in 1866:—

	GREAT BRITAIN	IRELAND
Cotton manufactures	£60,925,813	£1,596
„ yarn	13,685,627	—
Woollen and worsted manufactures	21,795,971	246
„ „ yarn	4,742,162	—
Linen manufactures	9,575,528	717
„ yarn	2,373,242	890
Silk manufactures	1,318,066	—
„ thrown, twist, and yarn	629,520	—
Cordage and twine	412,729	—
Empty bags	681,417	28
Haberdashery and millinery	5,396,775	—
Apparel and slops	2,871,282	26
Hats of all sorts	490,625	—
Wrought iron, railroad iron, and castings	10,586,604	2,744
Machinery and steam engines	4,759,091	—
Hardwares and cutlery	4,366,300	—
Wrought copper and brass	1,909,678	—
Tin plates	1,896,192	—
Lead—rolled, tubing, and shot	661,526	—
Arms and ammunition	1,094,721	1,311
Plate, plated ware, jewellery and watches	414,595	—
Telegraphic wire	312,288	—
Leather wrought, boots, shoes, and other sorts	1,339,810	—
Leather saddlery and harness	252,484	—
Earthenware and porcelain	1,650,019	—
Alkali and soda	1,613,207	—
Drugs and chemical products	1,011,356	150
	£156,766,628	£7,708

Brought forward	£156,766,628	£7,708
Glass of all sorts	806,427	—
Books, printed	601,682	—
Paper (other than hangings)	639,513	—
Stationery (other than paper)	388,106	—
Painters' colours	556,510	—
Pickles and sauces	468,150	—
Sugar, refined	388,106	—
Soap	241,109	—
Furniture, cabinet and upholstery wares	240,196	—
Carriages	236,409	—
Candles, stearine	222,467	—
Cement	280,916	—
Agricultural implements	168,722	—
Other articles	8,033,188	3,783
	£170,038,129	£11,491[1]

The rule of doubling the exports to ascertain the total value of native manufactures obviously does not apply to Ireland, as a large proportion of the exports of Irish manufactures are made through British ports. We, therefore, must arrive at the amount by other means. We know that the estimated value of the linen manufactures of Ireland is 10,000,000*l.*; and that of the sewed muslin trade, and all other manufactures, exclusive of beer, ale, and spirits, may be taken at 6,000,000*l.*—Total 16,000,000*l.* Deducting 5,000,000*l.* from the declared value of manufactures exported from British ports, as being the probable amount of their exports of Irish linen and other Irish fabrics, we have 165,038,129*l.*, which sum, when doubled, gives us 330,076,258*l.* as the value of British manufactures in 1866.

The comparison will then stand as follows:—

	GREAT BRITAIN	IRELAND
	£	£
Coals and minerals[2]	41,448,076	247,870
Manufactures	330,076,258	16,000,000
	£371,524,334	£16,247,870

In other words, the mineral and manufacturing productions

[1] Statis. Abstract U.K. No. 15, pp. 60–67, and return of exports from Irish ports.

[2] The value of the raw material of manufactured metals exported, being a small proportion, is not deducted.

of Great Britain and Ireland are in the following proportions of 100 :—

Great Britain . . .	95·81
Ireland	4·19
	100·00

This comparison, at best, is only approximate, as regards manufactures; for there are not, nor can there be, accurate statistics available, by which to arrive at the exact value of the manufactures of both countries. It is useful, however, in placing before us, in detail, the striking contrast presented by the British and Irish exports of manufactured goods; and it further exemplifies the gigantic proportions attained by the manufacturing industry of Great Britain.

When we take into account the effect of manufactures on the agriculture, the carrying trade, the commerce—the whole economic status of a country—we can easily understand that the above figures and proportions are very inadequate representations of the relative economic positions of Great Britain and Ireland. This will be exemplified in detail as we proceed.

CHAPTER XV.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF IRELAND, HOW COLLECTED—AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS OF GREAT BRITAIN, HOW COLLECTED—AREA OF IRELAND; ITS SUBDIVISION—AGRICULTURAL TOURS IN IRELAND BY ARTHUR YOUNG, MR. WAKEFIELD, AND MR. CAIRD; THEIR SEVERAL REPORTS ON THE SOIL AND AGRICULTURAL CAPABILITIES OF SEVERAL DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN THE FOUR PROVINCES.

Thus far we have viewed the contrast of Great Britain and Ireland in mining and manufacturing wealth. Let us now compare the two islands in agricultural wealth and resources.

Much as Ireland is backward in other respects, there is no country possesses more complete or more accurate agricultural statistics. These are carefully prepared, and have been every

year, since 1847 inclusive, by the Registrar General. The materials are collected by the constabulary and metropolitan police, who, to the number of nearly 4,000, act as enumerators, visiting about 600,000 separate holdings during the progress of the inquiry, and obtaining, from the occupiers, or some person in their employment, the acreage under each crop, the number of live stock, and other particulars stated in the returns.

It was long a subject of regret that a similar system did not prevail in Great Britain. However, the Board of Trade commenced supplying that want in 1866. The details are collected from all occupiers of land by the officers of the Inland Revenue Department, in the month of June in each year. Thus, we have at hand, for the purposes of our comparison, accurate and reliable returns of the agricultural statistics of the three kingdoms.

Ireland, exclusive of the larger rivers, lakes, and tideways, contains 20,319,934 statute acres, divided as follows in 1867 :—

	Acres
Under crops	5,458,945
Grass	10,057,072
Fallow	26,191
Woods and plantations . . .	324,308
Bog and waste, *unoccupied* . .	4,453,408
	20,319,924

On the subject of her soil, climate, and agriculture generally, I shall quote three authorities, who made these matters their particular study at different periods—namely, Arthur Young, Mr. Wakefield, and Mr. Caird.

Mr. Young, F.R.S. and Secretary to the Board of Agriculture in England, spent over three years in Ireland—1776 to 1779—visiting various districts, and minutely inquiring into everything connected with the agriculture, soil, climate, and social and economic condition of the country. In his investigations, he received much aid from the gentry in the several counties, to whom he was furnished with numerous letters of introduction. 'But,' he tells us, 'I did not trust entirely to this source, having,

upon most occasions, common farmers summoned to assist at the consultations, the design of which was my information. Nor did I neglect opportunities of making inquiries of the cottagers, and of examining into their situation and way of living.'[1] The results we have in his 'Tour in Ireland in 1776, 1777, and 1778,' to this day the great standard work on the subject.[2] Mr. Wakefield followed the same plan as Mr. Young, and was equally well received, and abundantly furnished with information by all classes, some thirty years later. He was well qualified for the task, his attention having, for many years, been directed to the value and management of land, of which he had seen and examined much in many of the counties of England.[3] He says, 'I resided in Ireland nearly two years, for the purpose of collecting materials, in which pursuit I passed over the greatest part of the island.'[4] His 'Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political,'[5] is one of the ablest and most valuable works of the kind ever published in any country.

Mr. Caird, who, as the 'Times' Commissioner, wrote the well-known letters on English Agriculture in 1850–51, and who stands confessedly in the first rank as a practical agriculturist, visited Ireland, at the instance of the late Sir Robert Peel, in the autumn of 1849. The object of his visit will be understood on a perusal of his valuable work, 'The Plantation Scheme, or the West of Ireland as a Field for Investment.'[6]

In quoting from these three writers, I select passages which describe the soil and agricultural capabilities of several different districts in the four provinces, my object being to lay before my readers a number of specific details, which are more to the point and more conclusive than mere general assertions as to the fertility of the country.

Natural fertility, acre for acre over the two kingdoms (says Arthur Young), is certainly in favour of Ireland; of this, I believe, there can

[1] 'Tour,' preface, p. ix. [2] Dublin, Williams, 1780. 2 vols. 8vo.
[3] Introductory remarks, p. vii. [4] Ibid. p. xiv.
[5] London, Longmans, 1812. 2 vols. 4to. [6] Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1850.

scarcely be a doubt entertained, when it is considered that some of the more beautiful, and even best cultivated countries in England, owe almost everything to the capital, art, and industry of the inhabitants.[1]

From Elphin towards Kingston (county of Roscommon), especially near the latter, the soil ranks among the finest I have anywhere seen. It is a dry, sound, mellow, sandy loam, deep and very rich, the herbage excellent. It is generally under sheep, with many bullocks. . . . . Some of the lands will carry an ox and a wether per acre.[2]

Passed by Cavan to Granard (county of Longford); got, in that neighbourhood, into a fine tract of dry, sound, gravelly land, used for fattening some bullocks, cows chiefly, and some sheep. It is all a limestone gravel.[3]

To Kildare, crossing the Curragh (county of Kildare), so famous for its turf. It is a sheep walk of above 4,000 English acres, forming a more beautiful lawn than the hand of art ever made. Nothing can exceed the extreme softness of the turf, which is of a verdure that charms the eye, and highly set off by the gentle inequality of the surface. The soil is a fine dry loam on a stony bottom; it is fed by many large flocks, turned on it by the occupiers of the adjacent farms, who alone have the right, and pay very great rents on that account. It is the only considerable common in the kingdom.[4]

I was much pleased to remark, all the way from Naas quite to Roscrea (sixty miles through the counties of Kildare, Queen's, and Tipperary), that the country was amongst the finest I had seen in Ireland.[5]

Going through Athy the road leads on the banks of the river Barrow, which winds through the vale on the right; the verdure beautiful and the country pleasant. Pass over much light, dry, sandy, gravelly loam, as fine turnip land as ever I saw, but not one cultivated in the country. It is this soil all the way to Carlow (fifteen miles).[6]

From Ross towards Wexford (county of Wexford), in general, dry sound land. This soil, so excellent in the turnip culture, never lets at its real value in unimproved countries: it is the introduction of turnips alone that ascertains that value.[7]

In one of his fields (county of Meath) he sowed red clover; it failed, but an amazing sheet of white clover came, which I saw, and

---

[1] 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 3. [2] Ibid. vol. i. pp. 308, 309.
[3] Ibid. vol. i. p. 293. [4] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 214. [5] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 215.
[6] Ibid. vol. i. p. 86. [7] Ibid. vol. i. p. 107.

was indeed surprised at such a proof of the excellency of the soil, even under such exceeding bad management.[1]

Kilfaine (county of Kilkenny).—The soil a dry, sound, gravelly loam, with many stones, much inclinable to sand; as fine turnip land as any in the world.[2]

Passed through Kilfennan and Duntreleague, in my way to Tipperary. The soil, all the way, is the same sandy reddish loam I have already described, incomparable land for tillage. . . . . All this line of country is part of the famous Golden Vale.[3]

Leaving Dundrum, passed through Cashel (county of Tipperary). Towards Clonmel, the whole way, through the same rich vein of red sandy loam I have so often mentioned. I examined it in several fields, and found it to be of an extraordinary fertility, and as fine turnip land as ever I saw.[4]

The rich land reaches from Charleville, at the foot of the mountains, to Tipperary, by Kilfennan, a line of twenty-five miles, and across from Ardpatrick to within four miles of Limerick—sixteen miles. Bruff, Kilmallock, and Hospital have very good land about them; the quantity in the whole conjectured to be 100,000 acres.[5]

The richest land is the Corcasses on the Maag (near Adare, county of Limerick), a tract of five miles long and two broad, down to the Shannon. The soil is a kind of yellow and blue clay, of which they make bricks; but there is a surface of blue mould. The grass of them is applied to fattening bullocks, from seven to eight cwt. each, and an acre fats one, and gives some winter and spring food for sheep. When they break this land up, they sow first oats, and get twenty barrels[6] an acre, or forty common barrels, and do not reckon that an extra crop; they take ten or twelve in succession upon one ploughing, till the crops grow poor, and then they sow one of horse beans, which refreshes the land enough to take ten crops of oats more; the beans are very good. Wheat sometimes sown, and the crops very great. Were such barbarians ever heard of?[7]

Mr. Young frequently thus exclaims at the bad farming of Ireland.

As to the soil (Castle Oliver, county of Limerick), I am able to speak of it particularly, for Mr. Oliver was so kind as to ride through

---

[1] 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. i. p. 43. [2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 93.
[3] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 154. [4] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 165. [5] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 143.
[6] Fourteen stone each. [7] 'Tour,' vol. ii. p. 135.

a great variety of it, a man with a spade following to dig. The finest soil in the country is upon the roots of mountains: it is a rich, mellow, crumbling, putrid, sandy loam, eighteen inches to three feet deep; the colour a reddish-brown. It is dry, sound land, and would do for turnips exceedingly well, for carrots, for cabbages; and, in a word, for everything. I think upon the whole it is the richest soil I ever saw, and such as is applicable to every purpose you can wish. It will fat the largest bullock, and at the same time do equally well for sheep, for tillage, for turnips, for wheat, for beans; and, in a word, for every crop and circumstance of profitable husbandry.[1]

The soil from Castle Island to Tralee (county of Kerry), is all a rich limestone land. About Arbella I went over some exceeding fine reddish sandy and gravelly loam, a prodigiously fine soil: fern (*Pteris aquilina*) the spontaneous growth, which I remarked in Ireland to be a sure sign of excellent land. Two-thirds of the county is mountain.[2]

The soil is various. The vale from Carrigtuohil to Killeagh (county of Cork), of ten or twelve miles long, and four over, is of limestone; the hills are brown stone. The loam upon it is from three inches to eight feet, strong, rich, and good; dry in winter, and good turnip land.[3]

Upon the river Blackwater (Mallow, county of Cork) there are tracts of flat lands, in some places one quarter of a mile broad; the grass everywhere remarkably fine. It is the finest sandy land I have anywhere seen, of a reddish-brown colour; would yield the greatest arable crops in the world, if in tillage. It is five feet, and has such a principle of adhesion that it burns into good brick; yet it is a perfect sand. The banks of this river—from its source to the sea—are equally remarkable for beauty of prospect and fertility of soil.[4]

The soils (on the Mitchelstown estate, county of Cork) are as various as in such a great extent they may be supposed. . . . The profitable soil is in general a sandy or a gravelly loam of a reddish brown colour, and the principal distinction is its being on lime or gritstone, the former generally the best. . . . There are tracts of such incomparable land, that I have seen very little to equal it, except in Tipperary, Limerick, and Roscommon. A deep friable loam, moist enough for the spontaneous growth to fat a bullock, and dry enough to be perfectly under command in tillage. If I was to name the charac-

---

[1] 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 143.
[2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 121.
[3] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 58.
[4] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 28.

teristics of an excellent soil, I should say *that* upon which you may fat an ox, and feed off a crop of turnips. By the way I recollect little or no such land in England, yet it is not uncommon in Ireland. Quarries of the finest limestone are found in almost every part of the estate.[1]

Mr. Young describes the farming of Ireland, on the whole, as execrable; and particularly remarks on the wonderfully rapid recovery of the soil from bad treatment.

A great portion of the soil of Ireland (says Mr. Wakefield) throws out a luxuriant herbage, springing from a calcareous subsoil, without any considerable depth. I have seen bullocks of the weight of 180 stone (8 lbs. to the stone), rapidly fattening on land incapable of receiving the print of a horse's foot, even in the wettest season, and where there were not many inches of soil. This is one species of the rich soil of Ireland, and is found throughout Roscommon, in some parts of Galway, Clare, and other districts. Some places exhibit the richest loam I ever saw turned up with a plough: this is the case throughcut Meath in particular. Where such soil occurs, its fertility is so conspicuous, that it appears as if nature had determined to counteract the bad effects produced by the clumsy system of its cultivators. On the banks of the Fergus and Shannon the land is of a different kind, but equally productive, though the surface presents the appearance of marsh. These districts are called caucasses: the substratum is a blue silt deposited by the sea, which seems to partake of the qualities of the upper stratum, for this land can be injured by no depth of ploughing.[2]

In the counties of Limerick and Tipperary there is another kind of rich land, consisting of a dark, friable, dry, sandy loam, which, if preserved in a clean state, would throw out corn for several years in succession. It is equally well adapted to grazing and tillage, and I will venture to say, seldom experiences a season too wet, or a summer too dry. The subsoil is calcareous, so that the very richest manure is thus spread over the land below, without subjecting the farmer to any labour.[3]

In the north the quantity of rich soil is not very considerable, yet valleys of extraordinary fertility are found in every county, and I was

---

[1] 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 271.

[2] 'Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political,' vol. i. p. 79.

[3] Ibid. vol. i. p. 80.

not a little astonished, amidst the rocky and dreary mountains of Donegal, where there was hardly a vestige of cultivation, to find myself drop all at once into a district where the soil was exceedingly fertile. I am inclined to think that the general cultivation of flax is a pretty sure indication of rich land, as this plant, in poor ground, would never attain to perfection [1]

On the rich *caucass* lands on both sides of the Shannon and Fergus, and the best lands in Limerick, Roscommon, and Meath, an acre is capable of grazing a bullock.[2]

Independently of the caucasses, the richest soil in Ireland is to be found in the counties of Tipperary, Limerick, Longford, and Meath. Some parts of the county of Cork are uncommonly fertile, and, upon the whole, Ireland may be considered as affording land of excellent quality, although I am by no means prepared to go the length of many writers, who assert that it is decidedly, acre for acre, richer than England.[3]

In briefly recording the general impression left on my mind by my visit to the west of Ireland (says Mr. Caird), altogether apart from the social state of that country, which will be afterwards considered, I was much surprised to find so great an extent of fine fertile land. The interior of the country is very level, and its general character stony and dry; the soil dry and friable. The humidity of the climate causes a very constant vegetation, which has both advantages and disadvantages. It is favourable for grass and green crops, but renders it necessary to employ very vigorous and persevering efforts to extirpate weeds. The abundance of lime everywhere, both in the rock itself, and as sand and gravel beneath the surface, are of the greatest value.[4]

Describing Frenchbrook, a 500 acre farm, within three miles of the upper end of Lough Corrib, in the county of Mayo, he says:—

The greatest part of this farm is the finest feeding land for sheep and cattle—dry, friable, undulating land—all on limestone. The fields, rich old grass, are superior to anything we have, except in small patches, in any part of Scotland I at present remember. The best of it too good for tillage, but about one-half of it might be profitably brought under the plough. The sheep and cattle then grazing on it were excellent.[5]

---

[1] 'Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political,' vol. i. p. 79.
[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 427.
[3] Ibid. vol. i. p 80.
[4] 'The Plantation Scheme,' p. 121.
[5] Ibid. p. 17.

Of the other farms in the district, from three to ten miles of Lough Corrib, he remarks:—

These farms all lie upon limestone, with access to turf.

The winters are mild, and the climate most suitable for grass and green crops; the soil is in every way adapted for feeding off green crops, if desirable, or for feeding sheep and cattle for the fat market.

The rapidity with which the land on this limestone subsoil recovers itself, and, without any seed being sown, reverts to pasture, is very remarkable.[1]

Some of the soil over which we rode to-day from Hollymount (county Mayo), proved, when turned up by the spade, of uniform appearance for eighteen inches in depth, beneath which was limestone, sand, and gravel. It reminded me of the deep black loam on the braes of the Carse of Gowrie, which, however, wants the limestone substratum. Other parts were a reddish, and what is here considered a richer soil—deep friable land—suitable for all kinds of crops.[2]

A few miles further west (from Mullingar), the land is very fine; and nearly all the way to Athlone—thirty-one miles—you pass continuous fields of the finest feeding land. On all sides as far as the eye can reach this seems the character of Westmeath.[3]

For miles round Bruff (county of Limerick) the soil is of very superior quality. Rising from the flatter lands are rounded hills of grass, at present clothed with such verdure as to be mistaken at a distance for turnip fields. It continues the same character till within four or five miles of Limerick (ten miles): a beautiful rich country, capable, under good management, of as much productiveness as the best lands in East Lothian.[4]

Some turnip crops which I saw to-day (near Castle Island, county of Kerry) would do no discredit to the best farm in East Lothian, either for the quality of the crop, or the clean state of the cultivation.[5]

---

[1] 'Plantation Scheme,' p. 18. [2] Ibid. p. 19.
[3] Ibid. p. 6. [4] Ibid. p. 72. [5] Ibid. p. 99.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GEOLOGICAL PHENOMENA OF IRELAND, AS ATTESTING THE NATURAL FERTILITY OF HER SOIL—BRIEF GENERAL VIEW OF THE GEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS—EFFECTS OF IGNEOUS AND AQUEOUS AGENCIES ON THE SURFACE OF THE GLOBE—GREAT VARIETY OF STRATIFICATION IN THE BRITISH ISLES: HENCE THAT NATURAL MIXTURE OF SOILS SO FAVOURABLE TO AGRICULTURE.

THE Geological phenomena of Ireland further attest the natural fertility of her soil. The whole crust of the globe is formed of solid rocks, covered over with more or less of loose materials, of which the upper portion is the soil. The rocks vary considerably, being granite, sandstone, claystone, limestone, &c., some existing in one district and some in another. Some are found lying over one another in *strata*, or regular layers or courses, and some again arise in irregular mountain masses. Here we have the two great generic divisions of the rocks, forming the crust of the globe—*stratified* and *unstratified*, the former abounding in organic remains, the latter wholly destitute of them.[1]

Stratified rocks, which are of aqueous origin, being formed by several successive deposits, in layers, in water, were originally classified by geologists according to their age, the oldest formation being called Primary, and the others, in succession, Transition, Secondary, and Tertiary.

I adopt these terms, which are still frequently used, and which are more simple and better adapted to my purpose, in speaking of the soils of particular rocks, than would be the more elaborate and more scientific classification which has recently been devised.

Descending from the surface, we have first the recent or post-tertiary formation, consisting of the vegetable mould, sand,

[1] The stratified rocks are also termed fossiliferous, as containing fossils; that is, the petrified remains of plants and animals; and the unstratified rocks are termed non-fossiliferous, as not containing such remains.

gravel, silt, alluvial deposits, peat-moss, marl, coral reefs, and other recent accumulations.

Immediately under this is the tertiary, which consists of the drift or boulder formation, the London and plastic clays, marls, limestones, and lignites, all occurring above the chalk.

Next comes the secondary formation, comprising the chalk, wealden, oolite, lias,[1] new red sandstone, the coal measures, containing ironstone,[2] the mountain limestone, and the old red sandstone strata.

The transition formation consists of slaty and silicious[3] sandstones, calcareous shales[4] and limestones; and the primary comprises all slaty and crystalline strata, very hard and compact, as quartz rock, roofing slate, mica schist,[5] and gneiss.

The unstratified system, which is of igneous origin, includes granite,[6] trap,[7] and volcanic rocks.

Granite is, as it were, the foundation on which the stratified

[1] Wealden—so called from the wolds or wealds of Kent and Sussex, where it prevails. It is constituted of layers of greyish clays, limestone, and sandstone.

Oolite—from the Greek *oon*, an egg, and *lithos*, a stone—so named from the form of many of its limestones. It is constituted of limestones, calcareous sands and grits, yellow sands, and bluish-grey clays. The Bath, Portland, and Caen stone come from the oolite.

Lias—a corruption of *layers*—is constituted of beds of bituminous shales, alternating with layers of dark limestone and clays. The huge reptilia, familiar to the visitors of the Crystal Palace gardens, are among the fossils of the lias. The wealden is the upper, the oolite the middle, and the lias the lowest group.

[2] Nearly all the iron of Great Britain is furnished by the coal measures, iron being mined in almost every coal field.

[3] Silicious, flinty—from Latin *silex*, flint.

[4] Shales—from German *Schale* or *Schell*, a shell or peeling—clayey strata, that split or peel off in thin scales.

[5] Schist—from Greek *schistos*, split or divided—strictly speaking, schist is applied to rocks splitting in irregular or crumpled forms, and slate to those of a flat or regular cleavage.

[6] Granite—from the Latin *granum*, a grain; the composition of the rock being granular.

[7] Trap—from the Swedish *trappa*, a stair; the rocks lying in step-like masses.

rocks repose, and is generally associated with the primary and transition formations, sometimes elevating them, sometimes bursting through them in veins, sometimes rising above them in mountain masses, and thus considerably altering their levels and those of the superior strata.

The trappean rocks are generally associated with the strata of the secondary formation, which they elevate, intersect, and sometimes overlie in sheet-like layers.

The volcanic rocks, of much more recent formation than the granite and trap, are chiefly composed of lava, which, in time, crumbles into a very fertile mould. They are unknown in these countries.

Wherever any of the stratified rocks are found together, they invariably occupy the same relative positions. Thus, for example, the new red sandstone is never found below the coal measures, nor are these latter ever found below the old red sandstone. Some rocks of a series may be absent from one district and some from another; but wherever the same strata occur together, the same order of succession or super-position invariably prevails.

It must not be supposed that the strata are always horizontal. If this were so we should be acquainted only with those on the surface, and should be wholly ignorant about those inferior in position, inasmuch as the utmost depth to which man has penetrated into the crust of the earth is little over half a mile.[1] The variety of stratification observable on the earth's surface is mainly owing to the disturbing force of igneous agency proceeding from the interior of the globe. Evidently, in a far remote epoch—in that protracted period, which is supposed to have elapsed between the creation and organization of our planet—this powerful agency operated in great violent convulsions, in different parts of the globe; upheaving the rocks composing the earth's crust; here producing gentle undulations, here

[1] Depth of mines. See Appendix XI.

again throwing up huge and abrupt mountain masses, and so causing that inequality of surface which is alike beautiful and useful in the external economy of man's earthly abode.

The same agency operates, and has for ages operated, on a smaller scale, in volcanoes, earthquakes, and a gradually elevating force, such as is at present observable on the shores of Siberia, in the islands of the Arctic Seas, in several parts of the coasts of the South American Continent, and in the island groups of the Southern Ocean.[1]

Then again, we have on every side the marks of a comparatively more recent, but scarcely less powerful agency, in the form of an universal deluge, rolling along vast masses of débris, scooping out immense tracts, and leaving, in the abraded sides and corresponding strata of the surrounding mountains, indelibly and plainly written, the history of the origin of these 'valleys of denudation.'

The natural result of these phenomena, is that we generally find the strata, or layers of rocks forming the earth's crust, dipping, or inclining at various angles; we sometimes find them all but vertical, sometimes nearly curvilinear, sometimes bent and contorted, in fact, most variously disposed; and thus it is that several of the earlier rocks are brought to the surface. The strata are also frequently varied by what are technically called slips, faults, hitches, and dykes, the results of igneous agency, or are infiltered by metallic lodes and veins.

Nowhere do we meet with a greater variety of stratification, resulting from both igneous and aqueous agencies, than in the British isles, where, happily, are to be found on all sides that natural mixture of soils, and those facilities for their artificial improvement which are of so much advantage to agriculture.

[1] In addition to these there are other minor changes, slowly but constantly going on. In some places there is a gradual subsidence, and in others a submersion of considerable tracts by encroachments of the sea. Of this latter, we have instances in the harbour of Youghal, where, at low water, may be seen extensive remains of submerged bogs, at a considerable distance from high water mark.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SOIL, HOW FORMED; PARTAKES LARGELY OF THE CHARACTER OF THE SUBJACENT ROCK; HOW THE NATURAL MIXTURE OF SOILS IS EFFECTED; EXTRAORDINARY FERTILITY OF THE GOLDEN VALE—DEPOSITS OF SAND AND GRAVEL; ALLUVIAL DEPOSITS; DELTAS—TWO-FOLD ADVANTAGE OF A MIXTURE OF SOILS, MECHANICAL AND CHEMICAL—CONSTITUENTS OF PLANTS, IN VARYING PROPORTIONS, IN THE SOILS OF ALL ROCKS—ARTIFICIAL MIXTURE OF SOILS BY THE SKILFUL AGRICULTURIST, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN NORFOLK AND BELGIUM.

THE soil, generally speaking, is the result of the gradual disintegration or pulverising of the surface of the rock, mixed with the residuum of the vegetable matter constantly forming upon it. The soil, therefore, largely partakes of the character of the rock from which it has had its origin. It is sandy, if the rock is sandstone; more or less of a tenacious clay, if the rock is claystone; more or less calcareous,[1] if a limestone; and, if the rocks are mixed, as at the intersection or juxtaposition of two or more strata on the surface, then the soil is of a mixed character, and generally remarkable for its fertility. Thus, as frequently occurs, the rock of a lower formation, penetrating the superincumbent strata, causes a mixture of their soils with each other, or with its own, at the point of intersection; and the result is a fine rich loam, such as that described by Young and Wakefield, as found 'at the roots of mountains in Ireland.'

The mixture of soils is also effected by the detritus which is being continuously carried down to the plains, by floods and rains, from the mountains, or their débris, which, at some remote period, was deposited there by the action of great bodies of water. In Ireland we have abundant evidence of the country having, at a far distant epoch, been long subjected to the action of water. Thus, we find the débris of the surrounding mountains in several parts of the great central plain, and of the smaller

[1] Calcareous (Latin, *calx*, lime), partaking of the nature of lime.

valleys, generally mixed with their calcareous soil; but, in some instances, so completely overlaying it as not to exhibit a trace of lime. To the mixture of soils resulting from the above causes may be attributed much of the extraordinary fertility of the Golden Vale, running through the counties of Limerick and Tipperary, and of other rich tracts (such as have already been described in the extracts I have quoted) in different parts of the country.

We frequently find regular layers of gravel and sand between the vegetable mould and the rock, these layers being evidently the result of the long-continued action of water. Again, in some places, as in parts of Norfolk, and on the coasts of Belgium, the surface is composed of barren sands washed in from the sea; and, in others, it consists of rich alluvial deposits at the mouths or on the banks of rivers, such as the deltas of the Nile,[1] the Mississippi, and the Ganges, or the caucasses of the Fergus and Shannon. In all such cases the soil differs very much, if not altogether, from the character of the rock on which it rests.

The advantages resulting from a mixture of soils are two-fold—mechanical and chemical. First, a clay soil, in itself too retentive of moisture, will be improved by a mixture of chalk or sand; whilst, on the other hand, chalky or sandy soils, which part their moisture too readily, will derive much benefit from a mixture of clay. Next, it has been ascertained by chemical analysis, that in the ash of all plants, wild or cultivated, there are twelve or fourteen different mineral substances, in greater or less relative proportions; and, therefore, in a fertile soil, besides its organic matter, all these substances must necessarily exist in sufficient quantity for the requirements of the plants grown therein.[2] Now, whilst in the soils of all rocks, stratified and unstratified, *traces* are found of all these mineral substances, or constituents of plants,[3] they do not exist in the soil of any one particular rock in the requisite quantity to enable the plant to

[1] Deltas. See Appendix XII.

[2] Johnston's 'Agricultural Chemistry,' p. 134. [3] Ibid. p. 135.

acquire a sufficiency of each in the period of its growth. While some of these substances will predominate in a calcareous soil, they will be deficient in a sand or clay; while others again will be all but absent in the former, they will exist abundantly in the latter; and so on with other soils. Therefore, it is obvious that the simple soil of one particular rock will not possess in itself, in the requisite quantity, all those elements, essential to the growth of plants, which are furnished by a mixture of two or more soils.

While much has been effected by natural causes in this respect, much has been left to be accomplished by human industry and science. A skilful agriculturist will artificially secure to himself the beneficial results of the mixture of soils, by making use of the materials which lie close at hand available for his purpose. Thus, we see the barren sands of Norfolk and Belgium transformed by the hand of man into tracts of the most blooming fertility, and supporting a prosperous agricultural population—strikingly in contrast with the naturally fertile soil of Ireland, which does not bear one half the produce that it might, with a population only partially employed, deficient in agricultural knowledge and enterprise, and consequently poor and discontented.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE GREAT CENTRAL LIMESTONE PLAIN OF IRELAND; ITS AREA AND ELEVATION—THE BOGS OF IRELAND; THEIR AREA AND SITE; BOG OF ALLEN—ESKERS—THE DRIFT OR BOULDER FORMATION—THREE VARIETIES OF LIMESTONE IN IRELAND—THE CLAY-SLATE FORMATION; ITS MINERAL WEALTH; ITS SOILS—THE MICA-SLATE; ITS SOILS—THE FOUR GRANITE DISTRICTS OF IRELAND; GRANITE SOILS—THE OLD RED SANDSTONE; ITS SOILS—THE TRAP OR BASALTIC FORMATION; ITS SOILS—THE NEW RED SANDSTONE; ROCK SALT DEPOSIT OF DUNCRUE; ITS ANNUAL PRODUCE.

THE interior of Ireland is a vast limestone plain, to a great extent surrounded by mountains of a primary or transition character towards the coast, with outliers in some of the

central counties. This limestone formation extends 120 miles, east and west, from Dublin to Galway Bay, and about 100 miles, north and south, from Fermanagh to the counties of Cork and Waterford. With some gentle undulations, it is almost entirely flat; its average elevation above the level of the sea not exceeding 300 feet. Of this great plain of 12,000 square miles, or 7,680,000 statute acres, about one-fifth, comprising 2,460 square miles, or 1,576,000 acres, are flat bogs, holding a great quantity of stagnant water. The remaining four-fifths are for the most part fertile arable land.

A line drawn from the hill of Howth to Sligo, on the north, and another line drawn from Wicklow-head to Galway, on the south, would comprise the district of the flat bogs of Ireland, which are partly in the counties of Roscommon, Galway, Westmeath, King's and Queen's Counties, and Kildare. Although separated in several places by ridges of the limestone soil, they bear the common designation of the Bog of Allen.

Several mounds, hillocks, and ridges of sand and limestone gravel, called eskers,[1] occur in different parts of the plain, as in Meath, Westmeath, and the King's and Queen's Counties.

The sand and gravel in some places lie in distinct and well-defined layers, and the mounds occasionally have the appearance of having been deposited by contending currents of water. These deposits of sand and gravel, and the boulder stones, generally water-worn and rounded, varying from a few ounces to several tons weight, and standing detached or in groups, but more frequently enclosed in boulder clay, constitute what is called the 'drift,' 'erratic block group,' or 'boulder formation.'

There are three varieties in the limestone rock of Ireland—viz., the lowest, which is by far the most extensive, and prevails in the midland and southern counties—the middle limestone, or black shale series, called calp, found in the neighbourhood of Dublin, in Westmeath, Longford, and parts of Galway

[1] Eskers, the same as the kaimes of Scotland and ösars of Sweden.

and Sligo, a variety much less pure than the other two--and the upper limestone, which is considerably elevated, and bears the existing coal measures.

It may not be uninteresting here to take a brief glance at the geological features of the seaboard counties surrounding the central plain.

Next in importance to the limestone is the clay slate formation, which, extensively developed in Louth, Down, Wicklow, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, and, to a smaller extent, in other counties, contains much of the mineral wealth of the country. This rock holds the copper mines of Cork, Waterford, and Wicklow, which are remarkable for the richness of their ores. In many places it gives indications of the presence of lead; and it also yields the valuable slate quarried at Valentia. The Boghra mountains, Glengarriff, Mangerton, Macgillycuddy's Reeks, Dunloe, and the bold cliffs and promontories of the coasts of West Cork, Kerry, and Clare are chiefly of this formation. These districts are characterised by a poor soil, thinly inhabited by small farmers with little capital. Drainage and the use of lime would very much increase their productiveness. They contain much bog, in many instances favourably circumstanced for reclamation.

Mica slate, on which clay slate generally rests, prevails extensively in Donegal, Tyrone, and Derry, and is also found in Galway, Mayo, and, in a less degree, in some other counties. Mica slate itself has not much metallic ore, but granite is likely to be richest in metals at its junction with this rock.[1] It is closely associated with gneiss and quartz-rock, which also prevail in the north and north-west of Ireland. The soils of mica slate are poor and thin, the more so from their great elevation and exposure. Occasionally, however, in valleys and on sheltered slopes, patches of rich cultivated land appear in this and the clay slate formation. It is a remarkable fact that the coal-field

[1] Kane's 'Industrial Resources of Ireland,' p. 163.

of the northern extremity of Antrim rests on the mica slate, and not on the mountain limestone, which bears all the other coal-fields of Ireland.

There are four extensive ranges of granite in Ireland. The principal is the Wicklow district, which, commencing at the sea shore near Dalkey, stretches, through the county of Wicklow, to near New Ross, in Wexford. The Galway district, forming the entire northern coast of the bay of Galway, extends by Oughterard to Roundstone. The third granite district is that of the Mourne mountains, in the county of Down, and the Carlingford hills, near Newry; and the fourth is that of the north-western coast of Donegal. Granite also occurs, to a small extent, in some other counties. The principal lead mines of Ireland are contained in this rock, in which are also found other minerals. Granites, which are composed of felspar, quartz, and mica, are characterised by a cold, stiff, wet soil, capable, however, of improvement by drainage. We are all familiar with the great value of granite as a material for the construction of piers, quays, bridges, and other works of a solid and enduring character.[1]

The old red sandstone appears in several counties of Ireland. The greater part of the surface of the county of Cork rests on this rock, which, commencing in the west, at the limits of the clay slate formation of Kerry, extends eastwards to Waterford, and northwards as far as the county of Wexford. It also abounds in Tyrone, Fermanagh, Monaghan, Mayo, and Tipperary. The Galtees and Knockmealdown are constituted of this rock, overlying the clay slate. It is generally accompanied by the more recent yellow sandstone. The soils of the old red sandstone in Ireland are for the most part very fertile.

The trap, or basaltic formation, is one of much interest. These rocks prevail extensively in the north of Ireland, and are marked by great fertility of soil. The great trap field of Antrim, in which is the celebrated 'Giant's Causeway,' covers an area

[1] Granite works. See Appendix XIII.

of 800 square miles, and is one of the most interesting districts the geologist can visit.

In the county of Antrim and part of Derry are developed the new red sandstone, oolite, lias, and chalk, so common in England. On the Marquis of Downshire's property, at Duncrue, near Carrickfergus, a very valuable deposit of rock salt has lately been discovered in this formation.[1] It lies at a depth of 550 feet from the surface, and consists of several layers, which, in the aggregate, are about 100 feet thick. In quality it is said to be superior to the rock salt of Cheshire. In the same district is found gypsum, or stucco rock, from which plaster of Paris is manufactured. Here, in 1868, the Belfast Salt Mining Company raised 19,689 tons of rock salt. The total quantity of salt made in Cheshire that year was 1,250,000 tons, and in Worcestershire, 125,250.[2]

In nearly all the seaboard counties of Ireland the low-lying and most fertile districts are limestone, generally marked by the courses of the rivers.

CHAPTER XIX.

ELEVATION OF THE SURFACE OF IRELAND ABOVE THE SEA—THE COAL MEASURES WASHED AWAY FROM IRELAND—ROCKINESS OF THE SOIL; SUITABLE TO THE MOIST CLIMATE—PURE SANDS AND STIFF CLAYS UNKNOWN—CURIOUS COMPARISON OF THE FERTILE SOILS OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

THE following is the elevation of the surface of Ireland, as furnished in the report of the Land Tenure Commissioners:—

	Square miles
Between sea level and 250 feet in height	13,242¾
„ 250 and 500 „ „	11,797⅛
„ 500 and 1000 „ „	5,797⅞
„ 1000 and 2000 „ „	1,589⅝
Above 2000 feet in height	82¼
	32,509⅛

[1] The new red sandstone is called saliferous, or salt-bearing.

[2] Hunt's 'Mineral Statistics for 1868,' p. 143.

At a very remote period, the superincumbent strata of the secondary formation, including the coal measures, were washed away from the greater part of Ireland, leaving the mountain or carboniferous limestone on the surface.

Thus, whilst Ireland was deprived of coal-fields, she gained, in the limestone rock, the basis of a very fertile soil and a material of the greatest value to the agriculturist. Her seven coal districts, economically of little importance, as we have already seen, are a series of sandstone and slaty rocks resting on the limestone, and considerably elevated above the denuded plain. In these, standing on the sides of the abraded hills, may be plainly traced the progress of the vast denudation, which, in far remote ages, scooped out, as it were, so much of the centre of the island.

Fortunately for England, she was not thus denuded, and in her new red sandstone formation and the upper coal measures, alternating with ironstone, she is doubly enriched with the elements of agricultural and manufacturing prosperity.

If Ireland does not possess, to any extent, the rich soil of the new red sandstone, which forms the surface of nearly the whole central plain of England, and stretches northwards through Cheshire to Carlisle and Dumfries,[1] she has not to contend with the pure sands, stiff clays and chalks, which absorb so much extra labour and manure in several of the English counties.[2]

The rockiness of the soil of Ireland is so universal (says Arthur Young) that it predominates in every sort. One cannot use with propriety the terms clay, loam, sand, &c. It must be a *stony* clay, a *stony* loam, a *gravelly* sand. Clay, especially the yellow, is much talked of in Ireland, but it is for the want of proper discrimination. I have once or twice seen almost a pure clay upon the surface, but it is extremely rare. The true yellow clay is usually found in a thin stratum under the surface mould, and over a rock. Harsh, tenacious, stony, strong loams, difficult to work, are not uncommon, but they are quite different from English clays.[3]

---

[1] See Johnston's 'Agricultural Chemistry,' p. 106.

[2] The red sandstones are the highest rented, and the chalks the lowest rented counties of England.

[3] 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 4.

I have lately seen a cutting of considerable extent, on one of the hills on the left bank of the Lee, in the neighbourhood of Cork. First came the surface mould, a rich reddish-brown loam, from four to six inches deep, then four or five inches of stiff yellow clay, and immediately under this the yellow sandstone rock. Such instances are common. In this particular case the surface was not dominated by any higher land, of which the detritus could have enriched it, and the fine mould, bearing most luxuriant grass, must have resulted from the gradual amelioration of the soil of the rock by the moisture of the climate.

May we not recognise in this (says Arthur Young) the hand of bounteous Providence, which has given, perhaps, the most stony soil in Europe to the moistest climate in it? If as much rain fell upon the clays of England (a soil very rarely met with in Ireland, and never without much stone) as falls upon the rocks of her sister island, those lands could not be cultivated. But the rocks here are clothed with verdure; those of limestone, with only a thin covering of mould, have the softest and most beautiful turf imaginable.[1]

One peculiarity of the soil of Ireland, much extolled by agriculturists, is the rapidity with which it recovers from bad cultivation, and clothes itself with the richest natural pasture. This is evidently the effect of the moist, mild climate.

Friable sandy loams, dry but fertile, are very common, and they form the best soils in the kingdom for tillage and sheep. Tipperary and Roscommon abound particularly in them. The most fertile of all are the bullock pastures of Limerick, and the banks of the Shannon, in Clare, called the Corcasses. These are a mellow, putrid, friable loam.

Sand, which is so common in England, and yet more common through Spain, France, Germany, and Poland—quite from Gibraltar to Petersburg—is nowhere met with in Ireland, except for narrow slips of hillocks upon the sea coast. Nor did I ever meet with or hear of a chalky soil.'[2]

---

[1] 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 3.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 4. The chalk of Antrim is overlaid by the trap rock. A very good opportunity of viewing it is afforded by a drive, under

It is not a little curious (says an able writer of the last generation) to compare the soils which are productive in Ireland with those which bear the highest character for fertility in England; from which comparison it will be discovered that the moisture of the climate makes a compensation for the absence of many conditions which are requisite in drier countries.

The favourite spots upon which the ancient towns of England have grown up are upon the red marl; and out of twenty-two cathedral cities nearly two-thirds are thus situated. In Ireland the greater part of the chief towns are placed either upon, or immediately adjacent to, the mountain limestone. Waterford, Lismore, Fermoy, Carrick-on-Suir, Clonmel, Cahir, Limerick, Cork, Sligo, Enniskillen, Dublin, Kilkenny, Carlow, Tralee, and others, are thus circumstanced. This limestone, so important to Ireland, exists in great plains in the central counties, and appears here and there in narrow strips throughout a great part of Munster, so that but little land in this province, excepting the mountains in the south-west angle, lies at an inconvenient distance from it. This circumstance in England would make the adjacent poor soils extremely valuable; but, in the sister country, the want of farming capital leaves the cultivator almost entirely to the inherent fertility, and prevents him from taking advantage of the speculative good.[1]

CHAPTER XX.

ORIGIN OF PEAT OR TURF; OBJECTS, ORNAMENTS, ANIMAL AND HUMAN REMAINS FOUND IN BOGS; ELEVATION ABOVE THE SEA, AND DEPTH OF THE BOGS OF IRELAND—LIGNITE OR WOOD COAL—MARL; GREAT IMPROVEMENT OF SOILS EFFECTED BY THE USE OF MARL; AVAILABLE FOR THE RECLAMATION OF IRISH BOGS—SHELL-SAND AND SEA-WEED MANURE—PROXIMITY OF ENGLAND AS A MARKET FOR IRISH PRODUCE; CONSEQUENT GREAT DEMAND; EFFECT ON LOCAL SUPPLY.

WE have already seen that the area of turf or peat bog in Ireland is about one-seventh of the surface of the island—viz.

the cliffs, from Portrush to the Giant's Causeway. In this district the chalk is often found like white marble, hardened and crystallised by its contact with the burning flood of basalt.

[1] 'Ireland and its Economy,' p. 10. By J. E. Bicheno, Esq., F.R.S. London, Murray, 1830.

1,254,000 acres of mountain bog, available for pasturage, and 1,576,000 acres of flat bog, capable of reclamation, spread over the central portions of the great limestone plain.

Peat is the result of the annual growth and decay, in swamps or hollows, of vegetable matter, such as rushes, the *sphagnum palustre* or bog-moss, and other such plants, mixed with submerged and fallen forests. It is, in fact, of the same origin (but in a much more recent stage of formation) as lignite and coal; peat being found in the post-tertiary formation, lignite in the tertiary, and coal in the secondary. On the surface of the bogs we have red, loose, fibrous turf, and as we dig down we find the hard compact peat, becoming denser and darker the lower we descend. Owing to the antiseptic property of the turf, the bogs contain, in a state of perfect preservation, the trunks and branches of trees, tree canoes, querns or hand-mills, gold and silver ornaments and coins, the bones of animals: among these, not the least interesting, the now extinct great Irish elk, *Megaceros Hibernicus*; and also human skeletons. The jungle formation of the tropics is of the same nature as the peat-mosses of cold and temperate latitudes.

The average depth of the peat bogs of Ireland is 25 feet; although, in some instances, they are as deep as 40 feet. They are all above the level of the sea; ranging from 25 to 488 feet above it. They generally rest on a blue clay, intermixed with marl, and under these is limestone gravel.

Lignite [1] or wood coal, sometimes called brown coal, a variety of coal in which the woody structure may be distinctly traced, is found in extensive deposits around the southern shores of Lough Neagh, extending from Washing Bay in Tyrone to Sandy Bay in Antrim. In one boring at Sandy Bay, described by Sir R. Griffith, there were three beds of lignite, one of 20 feet, one of 25, and one of 15, giving no less than 60 feet of fuel with 16 feet of clay, in a depth of 76 feet. The lignite at

[1] From the Latin, *lignum*, wood.

Ballintoy, in the extreme north of the county of Antrim, close to the Giant's Causeway, is thus described by Mr. Mason, in 1814:—

In the hill above Ballintoy town, on the northern face of the highlands of Maghrabuy, Clegnagh, and Limeneagh, a species of coal is found resembling charred wood: it is precisely the surturbrand of Dr. Von Troil, as described by him in his history of Iceland. It is chiefly used for burning lime, and not unfrequently for fuel. The disagreeableness of its smell, which resembles that of rotten wood, prevents its more general use.[1]

It is still used when other fuel is scarce. The economic value of turf is 44 per cent., and of lignite 66 per cent. of that of ordinary coal.

Marl, which is an earth or clay, containing more or less of carbonate of lime, a most valuable manure, is found in great abundance in Ireland. It is formed principally from the accumulation of shells at the bottom of fresh-water lakes, gradually filled up by clay, sand, or the growth of peat. The fertilising effects of marls vary according to the proportion of carbonate of lime they contain, which ranges from 5 up to 80 or 90 per cent.[2] The fens of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire, the mosses of Lancashire, and the sands of Norfolk have been vastly improved by the use of this manure; excellent crops of wheat being now raised where formerly an indifferent yield of oats was the produce. Whenever the bogs of Ireland become unnecessary for fuel, observes Sir Robert Kane, they have, in the marl underneath them, the best material for their own reclaiming.[3]

The advantages resulting from the judicious use of lime as a manure, whether in the form of marl, shells, shell-sand, limestone, limestone gravel or quicklime, are not as much availed

[1] 'Statistical and Parochial Survey of Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 154.

[2] Johnston's 'Agricultural Chemistry and Geology,' p. 281. Dr. Sullivan says, 'Up to 95 per cent.'

[3] 'Industrial Resources of Ireland,' p. 267.

of as they ought to be by the Irish farmer. Lime, either in the rock or as gravel, is to be found in every county in Ireland.[1]

Owing to the conformation of the island, with its numerous indented bays and harbours, there is hardly an acre of arable land in the country at a greater distance than fifty miles from the sea. Hence there is a general facility of procuring shell-sand and seaweed as manure.

The proximity of England, as a market for her agricultural produce, now that railways and steamers have practically brought the two countries so close to each other, is a great advantage to Ireland. Were that produce double what it is, it would readily be absorbed by the sister island. As it is, all the sheep, cattle, pigs, butter, eggs, fish, poultry, oats, oatmeal, and vegetables she can spare are rapidly taken by England. The steam ferry established from the eastern ports carries all these over in a steady, regular supply, and brings back in return articles of British import and manufacture. Of eggs alone it is computed that eighty millions are annually shipped from Ireland to Great Britain. The increased facilities of transmission of late years, and also the great annual increase of the number of mouths to be fed in England, together with the diminution of the number of small farmers and of the fishing population in Ireland, have had a remarkable effect on the food supplies of some of the Irish cities and towns where certain articles of food, formerly superabundant, are now sometimes very difficult to be procured.

[1] I have frequently seen it stated that Wicklow is an exception. But such is not the case; inasmuch as the soil of Wicklow near the sea and along the banks of the larger rivers, holds limestone, limestone gravel, and marl.

CHAPTER XXI.

HARBOURS OF IRELAND; CORK HARBOUR, THE IRISH NAVAL STATION; ITS GREAT NATURAL ADVANTAGES AND IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED KINGDOM—IRELAND'S LAKES OR LOUGHS; LEGEND OF LOUGH NEAGH—ROYAL AND GRAND CANALS—RIVERS OF IRELAND; THE SHANNON—INLAND NAVIGATION OF IRELAND; OF MUCH LESS IMPORTANCE SINCE THE INTRODUCTION OF RAILWAYS—BEAUTIES OF IRISH LAKE AND RIVER SCENERY.

IRELAND possesses 14 harbours suitable for the largest line-of-battle ships, 17 for frigates, and over 30 for coasters. Cork harbour, on the north of which lies Queenstown,[1] is the Irish naval station. Conveniently situated, safe, capacious, and completely landlocked, it is one of the finest harbours in the world. Sometimes over 500 ships may be seen riding on its waters.[2] In the late war, in the year 1812, it held at one time, in addition to the usual number of vessels, two fleets of merchant ships, with their convoys, one arrived home, the other outward bound, numbering over 600 sail. The circumstance is remembered by some of the old inhabitants, who describe how crowds flocked from different parts of the country to witness the sight. This harbour is most easy of access, its approach being sheltered from the Atlantic gales by the projecting headlands of Mizen Head and Kinsale, with soundings gradually decreasing from Cape Clear; so that the mariner may safely grope his way into it by the lead in the thickest and worst weather. Within the harbour, if there were appropriate jetties at Queenstown and Passage West, the largest American steamer might discharge and take in passengers and goods close alongside afloat; and at the north of Haulbowline island the largest vessels in Her Majesty's navy may lie alongside to coal afloat at low water. The results are:—1st, That

[1] The name, formerly Cove, was changed to Queenstown on the occasion of the Queen's visit in 1849, this being the first part of Ireland Her Majesty ever set her foot on.

[2] Such was the case as recently as September 1869.

Cork is the principal port of call for orders for merchantmen in the United Kingdom. The foreign[1] charter-parties are all printed 'Cork or Falmouth,' but in nine cases out of ten the former is the port touched at. 2ndly, It is, and has long been, from its position and easy access, the port generally made by disabled steamers and sailing ships, for the repairs of which it also possesses every appliance and facility, in its timber and iron ship factories and docks, the principal basin of the Victoria Docks at Passage West being of sufficient capacity to hold the largest of the Cunard steamers. The facilities of repairs for Her Majesty's ships will be greatly increased by the completion of the Government docks, now in course of construction at Haulbowline. 3rdly, Cork is the final port of departure and first port of call for the American liners and mail boats, thereby saving twenty-four hours in the transmission of the mails between England and the United States. With railway and telegraphic communication now all complete, the importance of this harbour to the United Kingdom cannot be overrated.

Ireland possesses numerous lakes or 'loughs,' the united area of which is 455,399 statute acres, viz. 183,796 in Ulster, 194,477 in Connaught, 44,652 in Munster, and 32,472 in Leinster; all with their tributary rivers and canals, forming important centres of inland navigation. Of these the principal is Lough Neagh in Ulster, one of the largest lakes in Europe. Its length is about twenty miles, and its breadth about twelve, the height of its surface above the level of the sea, at low water, being forty-eight feet. The river Bann, rising in the Mourne mountains, enters this lake at the south, and, emerging on the opposite side, separates Londonderry and Antrim, and falls into the Atlantic at Coleraine. Lough Neagh has five counties on its banks—Down, Armagh, Tyrone, Londonderry, and Antrim, forming nearly 100 miles of coast. There is an interesting legend connected with this lake, the tradition being that it was once dry land, and that

[1] English captains endeavour to make Falmouth, though less convenient, in order to be near their families.

the tops of buildings may at times be seen in its still waters. 'There is a lake in Ulster,' says Caxton, 'and much fish therein, which is thirty miles in length and fifteen in breadth. The river Ban runneth out of the lake into the North Ocean, and men say that this lake began in this manner: There were men in this country that were of evil living—and there was a well in the land in great reverence of old time and always covered, and if it were left uncovered the well would rise and drown all the land; and so it happed that a woman went to the well for to fetch water, and hied her fast to her child that wept in the cradle, and left the well uncovered—then the well springed so fastly, it drowned the woman and her child, and made all the country a lake and fish pond. For to prove this, it is a great argument that when the weather is clear, fishers of that water see in the ground under the water round towers and high shapen steeples and churches of that land.'[1]

This tradition is enshrined in the following verses of the national poet:—

On Lough Neagh's banks as the fisherman strays,
When the clear soft eve's declining,
He sees the round towers of other days,
In the wave beneath him shining.

Thus shall memory often, in dreams sublime,
Catch a glimpse of the days that are over;
Thus sighing, look through the waves of time
For the long faded glories they cover.

A similar legend is attached to the Lough of Cork.

Lough Erne, or rather the two loughs of the name, are entirely within the county of Fermanagh. The upper lake, fourteen miles long, and the lower, twenty-five miles, are connected by a river of five miles, on which is built the town of Enniskillen, appropriately named the 'Interlachen' of Ireland. Both these lakes are thickly studded with islands, and the scenery is beau-

[1] Caxton's 'History of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, 1497.'

tiful. The forty miles' chain of lakes formed by Loughs Carra, Mask, and Corrib, communicating with the sea at Galway, also present great facilities for navigation. The Irish lakes, moreover, afford extensively the means of draining the adjacent lands. 'It was impossible,' says Inglis, 'to cast the eye over the vast inclined plains of bog-land, skirted by fine water levels, which seemed to invite draining, without feeling a conviction of the immense capabilities of this part of Ireland, and seeing, in perspective, these vast tracts bearing abundant produce—and the chains of loughs carrying that produce—on the one side to Lough Corrib and Galway bay, and on the other to Birterbuy bay, or one of the other bays which lie to the westward.'

In the north of Connaught, Loughs Conn and Cullin, in connexion with the river Moy, which is navigable to large vessels up to within a mile of Ballina, might be formed into another valuable chain of water communication.

A glance at the map of Ireland will show that the country is intersected by several fine rivers. Of these the principal is the Shannon, which, rising in the Cuilkeagh mountains, on the confines of Leitrim and Cavan, forming Loughs Allen, Rea, and Derg, and passing through the city of Limerick, enters the Atlantic through a noble estuary between the counties of Kerry and Clare, a total course of 220 miles. In length of navigation, it is the first river in the United Kingdom, being practicable to small craft up to the top of Lough Allen, or to within six miles of its source.[1] It washes the shores of ten counties, and insulates nearly the whole province of Connaught and the county of Clare. The scenery on its banks is varied and beautiful, especially in Loughs Rea and Derg, and at the rapids of Doonas. The Shannon is connected with Dublin by the Royal and Grand Canals, the former being a length of ninety-seven miles, and the

[1] Between the city of Limerick and Killaloe, a distance of twelve miles, the navigation of the Shannon is impeded by shallows and rapids, the traffic being carried by canal at these points.

latter eighty miles of main trunk and eighty-one of branches. Both canals cross the centre of the island, east and west.

The Barrow, Nore, and Suir, popularly called the three sisters, after long separate courses, flow into the sea in Waterford harbour. The Suir is navigable for boats to Clonmel, and the Nore to Innistiogue; whilst the Barrow, passing New Ross and Carlow, forms, with a branch of the Grand Canal, a line of 120 miles of inland navigation, from Dublin to the sea at Waterford.

The Blackwater, falling into the sea at Youghal, is navigable to small craft as far as Cappoquin. Great quantities of sea sand manure are transported by boat up the Blackwater from Youghal harbour.

The Boyne navigation from Drogheda to Slane, and thence to Navan by canal, forms a total length of nineteen miles.

Lough Neagh is connected with the sea, at Newry, to the south, and at Belfast, to the east, by two lines of navigation, partly river and partly canal. It communicates also by canal with Coal island in the coal-field of Tyrone, a distance of eleven miles westward, and with Upper Lough Erne by the Ulster canal and the Blackwater river, a total distance of forty-eight miles south-west.

The commercial advantages of the estuaries of the Foyle at Londonderry and the Lee at Cork require no comment.

Formerly the inland navigation of Ireland was of much greater value than it is since the introduction and extension of railways. The principal uses to which it is turned now are the transporting of turf, and bringing sand and seaweed manure from the coast to the interior; therefore in no instance ought it to be maintained to the prevention of, or interference with, the arterial drainage of the country.

I have already alluded to the scenery of some of the northern lakes, and of the Shannon. The far-famed Killarney, the Blackwater, the Lee, the Avoca, and others of the inland waters of Ireland, abound with spots of surpassing beauty and interest. A charm has been thrown around several of these by the gifted

author of the 'Faerie Queen,' who resided for some years in Kilcolman Castle, near Doneraile, on the banks of the Awbeg, 'the gentle Mulla,' 'Mulla fair and bright,' a tributary of the Blackwater.[1]

There also was the wide embayèd Maire,
The pleasant Bandon crowned with many a wood,
The spreading Lee that, like an island fair,
Encloseth Cork with his divided flood.
There was the Liffie rolling down the lea,
The sandy Slane, the stony Au-brian,
The spacious Shannon, spreading like a sea,
The pleasant Boyne, the fishy fruitful Ban.
Swift Auniduff,[2] which of the Englishman
Is called Black-water, and the Liffar deep,
Sad Trowis, that once his people over-ran,
Strong Allo tumbling from Slew-logher steep,
And Mulla mine, whose waves I whilom taught to weep.

Although the beauties of scenery, the associations historical and poetic, and the districts of deep interest to the geologist and the naturalist, with which Ireland abounds, are of little importance compared with the development of her industrial resources, they are not to be overlooked in the present age, which offers such facilities and inducements to travel to excursionists and tourists.

[1] Spenser. See Appendix XIV.
[2] Avon, Irish, pronounced Aun, river.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CLIMATE OF IRELAND; WOULD BE IMPROVED BY GENERAL DRAINAGE, ARTERIAL AND LOCAL—BAD RESULTS OF WANT OF DRAINAGE—IMPORTANCE OF DRAINAGE, BUT IMPERFECTLY REALISED BY GOVERNMENT, LANDLORDS, AND CULTIVATORS IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND—OPERATIONS UNDER ARTERIAL DRAINAGE ACTS IN IRELAND; QUITE INSUFFICENT; WHAT IS REQUIRED—GOVERNMENT HITHERTO NOT UNIFORMLY SUCCESSFUL; ACCOUNT OF GOVERNMENT DRAINAGE WORKS ON THE SHANNON; CATCHMENT BASINS OF THE SHANNON AND ITS TRIBUTARIES; DRAINAGE SACRIFICED TO INLAND NAVIGATION; INUNDATIONS AND SATURATIONS 150 MILES ALONG THE SHANNON—ARTERIAL DRAINAGE A GOVERNMENT WORK; MUCH WANTED IN IRELAND; IRELAND HERETOFORE NEGLECTED BY GOVERNMENT IN THIS RESPECT; NEXT IN IMPORTANCE TO THE LAND QUESTION.

THE climate of Ireland is one of her difficulties, inasmuch as its uncertainty renders the southern and western parts of the island, as a rule, unsuitable for the growth of wheat. No doubt, there are seasons, such as that commencing with the autumn of 1867, and terminating with the summer of 1868, highly favourable to the wheat crop in Ireland; but against this there is, not unfrequently, a recurrence of wet years, such as 1860, 1861, and 1862, most unfavourable not only to wheat, but to other cereal crops in the country.

Ireland, as already observed, forms a barrier or shelter to Great Britain against the Atlantic vapours, which first break on her southern and western coasts, leaving there, but too often, an excessive quantity of their moisture. This moisture, as we have seen, has its advantages and disadvantages. But the latter would be greatly diminished if a well-devised, thorough system of arterial drainage were carried out by Government; and if, simultaneously with this, the occupying tenant were induced, as he can only be by complete security of tenure, to put his labour and capital freely into the land, as is done in other countries. As a rule, the landlords of Ireland either will not or cannot drain the farms on their estates; and, naturally enough, their

tenants-at-will won't do so. But there can be no doubt that, if the Irish farmer enjoyed a secure tenure, defeasible only by non-payment of rent—if, in fact, he felt he was labouring for himself—he not only would thoroughly till his land, but he would avail of Government aid for drainage purposes, borrowing, under the Land Improvement Acts, money, to be repaid, principal and interest, in twenty-two annual instalments of 6½ per cent.; or, better still, if a desirable modification of the Act were carried out, in thirty-five annual instalments of 5 per cent.[1]

This double improvement—thorough culture and local drainage, in conjunction with complete arterial drainage—would rapidly carry off the superfluous water, which now lies so long, in wet seasons, on low, flat lands, and would greatly diminish the evaporative surface; thus considerably ameliorating the climate, and vastly improving the agriculture of the country.

The essential principles of vegetation are heat, humidity, and free access of air. Many countries have as great a rainfall as Ireland, and some a greater; but then they have powerful evaporative solar heat, to absorb the superfluous moisture, and promote a rapid, vigorous vegetation. Owing to its moist and temperate climate, Ireland, perhaps of all countries in the world, most requires complete and perfect drainage; and yet in this respect Ireland is lamentably backward. In several districts of the country, undrained and badly farmed, with the land saturated and a low temperature, in wet summers, it is impossible for the plant, chilled in a cold soil, to attain its normal growth; and hence those districts are but too generally characterised by

[1] Under the Land Improvement Acts, at present, loans may be repaid by a rent charge of 5 per cent. payable for thirty-five years, where the money is expended on buildings of all kinds, clearing land of rocks, and planting for shelter. Money borrowed for all other purposes of improvement under the Acts, is repayable in twenty-two years at 6½ per cent. This latter might with advantage be extended.

inferior cereals and root crops, and sour, innutritious pasture. If the same land were properly drained, and, where necessary, subsoiled, the rains, descending to the roots of the plants, would carry down ammonia, nitric acid, and other fertilising substances from the air, would yield just the necessary supply of moisture; and, having thus done their duty, would flow off, leaving the soil pervious to the air and solar heat. The difference between drained and undrained lands has been, not inaptly, compared to the contrast presented by the state of a man enjoying full reaction after a healthy cold bath, and the condition of a traveller obliged to sit for hours in wet clothes, thoroughly chilled. In the one case there has been a brief, invigorating immersion, followed by a glow; in the other case, a protracted, thorough drenching, abstracting animal heat, and lowering the vital powers.

The vast importance of drainage, arterial and local, to the agriculture of these islands, appears to be but very imperfectly realised by landlords, cultivators, and the Government.

The generally wet state of the land (in England) is the first observable feature in its condition, and this prevails over a very large proportion of most parts of the country; and it is certainly a matter of surprise that so many tenants lay out their capital in the cultivation of land of this character, seeing that at best they must reap but scanty crops from it, and at times run the risk of losing them altogether. In this, however, the proprietors are more to blame than the tenants; still the fact of the latter agreeing to cultivate land which is in a wet and undrained state, is a proof that they are not sufficiently aware of the disadvantages they labour under in this respect.[1]

If these observations apply to England, *à fortiori*, are they applicable to Ireland.

As things are, it is painful to witness, in many parts of Ireland, how much suffering and poverty are entailed on individuals and whole districts, what valuable resources for the production of food for the community lie all but useless, and what

[1] 'Book of the Landed Estate,' p. 5. By R. E. Brown, factor and estate agent, Wass, Yorkshire. Blackwood, 1869.

serious loss and injury, material and moral, accrue to the British empire, for the want of that judicious application of labour and capital, which would change cold, ungrateful soils into rich tracts, blooming with fertility, and convert a poor, half-idle, and discontented population into comfortable and contented productive labourers. The Irish complain, and certainly with reason, that whilst millions of the public money are expended on other parts of the United Kingdom, those great works which only Government can deal with, such as the deepening of river beds and the arterial drainage of large districts, are nearly altogether neglected in Ireland, where there is so much work of the kind to be done.

It is true that, under the Arterial Drainage Acts, considerable improvements have been effected in some districts. The total amount charged against the different undertakings under the Acts, including 70,201*l.* for works chargeable to counties, was, up to the 31st March, 1868, 2,390,613*l.* Of the total expenditure, 1,187,047*l.* have been remitted, and repayments in respect of the completed districts, to the amount of 920,110*l.*, have been received at the Exchequer.[1]

Since 1861 all executive operations under these Acts have been closed, and the duties of the Board have been confined to determining, on the application of proprietors, the amount of increased rent to be paid by tenants holding under leases, in respect of the benefit derived by them from improvements in their holdings resulting from drainage operations.[2]

Under an Act, passed 16th July, 1866,[3] to provide for the better maintenance of works executed under the Acts for the drainage of lands in Ireland, twenty drainage districts have been formed, and in the nineteen which are being proceeded with, the area to be improved is 41,828 acres, at an estimated cost of 157,087*l.*[4]

[1] Thom's 'Statistics of Ireland 1868,' p. 877.
[2] Ibid.
[3] 29 and 30 Vic. c. 49.
[4] Ibid.

But all this is quite insufficient—very far short, indeed, of what is required. It is not by mere local efforts of a few associated proprietors, deepening a small watercourse in their particular district, under the provisions of an Act of Parliament, which we may contradistinguish as subarterial drainage; nor is it again by isolated works here and there undertaken by Government, even though these works were promptly and not unskilfully executed, that we can hope to see the evil remedied. What is wanted is one general, comprehensive, and self-consistent plan of arterial drainage, devised and carried into effect by the best engineering skill and experience that can be obtained—not a plan that will drain one district merely to throw its waters over another, but one which will first deepen and improve the main arteries (that is, the large rivers), and give their currents ample space and free vent, and thus, before increasing the volume of their affluents, provide a sufficient channel for the ulteriorly increased flow of the united waters.

Government has certainly been anything but uniformly successful, hitherto, in its arterial drainage operations in Ireland. The whole question—and it is one of the greatest importance to the country—will, perhaps, be best illustrated by a brief account of the Government works for improving the drainage and navigation of the Shannon.

The catchment basin of the Shannon and its tributaries comprises an area of 6,060 square miles, being nearly one-fifth of the whole area of the island, viz. :—

	Length in miles	Area of Catchment basins in square miles	Altitude of highest ground near source	Source
Shannon	160½	4553¾	341	Parish of Killinagh, co. Cavan.
Suck	82½	617½	358	Near Lough O'Flyn, co. Mayo.
Inny	55½	486½	904	Near Oldcastle, co. Meath.
Fergus	36½	402¼	430	Near Kilfenora, co. Clare.
		6060 [1]		

[1] Taken from the recently published Ordnance Survey Map of Rivers and their Catchment Basins (Ireland).

Thus, we perceive that a most extensive district depends for its drainage on these rivers. To this must be added the fact that they flow (especially the Shannon for 150 miles of its course) through a flat, low-lying country.

In October 1831, Government called on Colonel John F. Burgoyne, Chairman of the Board of Works, to report on 'the benefits which might be expected to result from a judicious expenditure of capital upon the river Shannon, both with reference to the improvement of its navigation, *and also to the reclaiming of vast tracts of land now either inundated periodically by the floods of that river and its tributary streams, or rendered permanently incapable of cultivation from the accumulation of waters which are unable to find a vent.*'[1]

The instructions to him went on to say, 'You will, after full consideration of the documents already in existence, and after personal inspection, report your opinion of the practicability and advantage of *establishing such a control over the occasional floodings of the Shannon as may tend to a beneficial drainage and reclaiming of the bogs and low lands through which it passes.*'

In accordance with these instructions, Colonel Burgoyne wrote detailed instructions, dated November 10, 1831, to Thomas Rhodes, Esq., C.E., in which he stated, among other things, 'It is evident that the great key to any system of drainage must be at the falls of Killaloe.' Mr. Rhodes made a detailed and accurate survey of that part of the Shannon in 1832.

In his report,[2] Mr. Rhodes proposed to construct a weir at Killaloe, 'this weir to be made of such height as to retain in the driest seasons *six* feet of water upon the sill of Killaloe Lock.' The height proposed for this weir was five feet eight inches,

[1] Abstracted from the Report to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, on the means of Preventing the Autumn Inundations of the river Shannon, and of Improving the Outlet of the river Suck, by James Lynam, Esq., C.E. Return to an order of the House of Lords, June 28, 1867.

[2] This report, with maps and sections, was printed by order of the House of Commons in August 1832, paper 731.

allowing four inches deep of water to be passing over in the driest summers.[1]

Subsequently the Act 5 and 6 Will. IV., c. 67, was passed, and five commissioners were appointed under its provisions.

That Act provided, among other matters, that the commissioners 'shall make out a plan and estimate, with proper plans, maps, drawings, and sections, and elevations thereto attached, and describing the said navigation, and the works proper in their judgment to be executed for the clearing and improving of the same, *and for confining the waters thereof, and preventing the inundations of the contiguous lands.*'

The commissioners accordingly made another survey of the Shannon, and, in their report, they 'determined, after mature consideration, to adopt the general principle suggested by Mr. Rhodes.' On their drawing, No. 39, is shown the proper level they proposed for the navigation of Lough Derg—viz. *six* feet over the sill of Killaloe Lock, the same as proposed by Mr. Rhodes.

'Notwithstanding all this, the weir has been built, part six feet nine inches high, part seven feet high, which prevents the water from ever sinking below seven feet on the sill, and in ordinary wet weather throws six inches of water out over thousands of acres of land, which land would be six inches over water if this weir were only the proper height.'

Again, 'the widening and deepening of the channel at Killaloe has not been completed either to the breadth or depth delineated on the Parliamentary maps; a breadth of 100 feet on the Tipperary side remains there still not cut away, and a depth of six feet remains in the bottom towards the same side not yet excavated.'

Next, with a view of maintaining the height of water deemed necessary for steam navigation on the Shannon, between Carrick-on-Shannon and Killaloe, 110 miles, in dry summer

[1] See Rhodes' second report, p. 64; third report, p. 13, and drawings, No. 42.

weather, six great stone weir walls were erected, and in none of these was there any sluice or flood-gate to let off surplus water. 'Floods above these weirs subside very slowly. From March 1 to April 5, 1866, the remains of the previous winter flood subsided but three inches in the district above the great weir wall at Meelick, while all the lowest lands were covered by four or six inches of water, and very large areas were thoroughly saturated, as the Shannon water kept all the lateral streams and drains full to the level of the surface of the land. In June 1860, in September 1866, and almost every year, small floods occur which cover the low portions of the lands, and saturate the remainder, rendering them unfit for pasture, and making it very difficult to get a hay crop dried.'

The results are summarised as follows by Mr. Lynam :—

First.—*Saturation*, caused by small floods, and the remains of large floods slowly subsiding. These occur every year in spring, summer, and autumn. They may be wholly prevented by constructing regulating weirs, composed of a series of flood valves at the falls of the river, instead of the immoveable stone weir walls there at present.

Second.—*Great autumnal floods*, which inundate 16,299 acres of arable pasture and meadow land, and destroy great part of the crop, and injure the remainder.

In the 26 years since 1840 there occurred five great autumn floods, one in the middle of August (1861), one in September (1841), and three in October (1849, 1862, 1863). October floods are frequent, but August floods very rarely occur. The August flood of 1861 was caused by an unusually wet season.

Third.—*Great winter floods*, which occur every year, cover 20,825 acres of arable, meadow, and pasture land, and saturate 3,120 acres, thus damaging every year 23,945 acres of land in a distance of 150 miles of river Shannon extending through nine counties. The winter floods subside so slowly that the lands remain saturated during the greater part of the spring, which prevents the growth of good species of grass, and otherwise greatly injures the land. About 40,000 acres more are damaged by winter floods on the river Suck.

The estimated cost of the proposed works to carry off the autumn floods—viz. widening the river channel at certain points, deepening it at Killaloe, embanking between Killaloe and

Castleconnell, dredging, and constructing regulating weirs composed of moveable flood valves at the falls of Killaloe, Meelick, Athlone, Tarmonbarry, Roosky, and Jamestown, instead of the stone weir walls there at present, is 143,920*l.*

The cost of the necessary works is increased, we are told, by the effect of twenty-three of the rivers tributary to the Shannon having been improved under the Arterial Drainage Acts. 'The area of land drained by them is 1,690,000 acres, and all the water which formerly spread out over the many thousands of acres of land flooded by those rivers now comes down direct into the Shannon Valley. No improvement whatever has been made in the outlets of the Shannon to compensate for this great additional influx of flood water.'

Here, after a lapse of some five-and-thirty years since the letter of the Chief Secretary was addressed to the Chairman of the Board of Works on the subject, the plan then determined on is yet incomplete, the inundations, and saturation of the lands, for one hundred and fifty miles along the banks of the river, continue; nay, are worse than before the great stone weir walls were erected, and before the increased waters of twenty-three tributaries which had been improved were turned into the channel of the Shannon! A comparatively small amount was the estimate of what was required to set matters so far right; and, while millions of the public money have been expended on Holyhead, Portland, and other parts of England—all, no doubt, most important and most useful public works—nothing has been done in this which must be characterized as a great imperial and not a mere local undertaking.

The fault does not lie with the Board of Works; for they have not the money nor the legal powers, even though they had the authority (which they have not) to deal with the matter. The initiative must be taken by Parliament, or rather by Government, bringing the question, in a matured shape, before Parliament.

It is now twenty years since Mr. Caird emphatically called attention to the necessity of Government entering on such works,

which are altogether beyond the means and legal powers of riparian proprietors.[1] Then labour was more available than it is at present. But even now, at the eleventh hour, much might be done.

Within a few weeks,[2] the 'Tithes' Commissioner has alluded to similar evils, arising from a like cause, on the banks of the Barrow. As he proceeds, he will meet many districts to which the same remarks apply. Let us hope that, the land question once settled, this, the next most important subject—the thorough arterial drainage of Ireland—will engage the attention of Government and the Legislature.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PRESENT LAND-LETTING SYSTEM OF IRELAND—NUMBER OF LANDED PROPRIETORS IN IRELAND, AND IN ENGLAND AND WALES, AND SCOTLAND RESPECTIVELY—AVERAGE SIZE OF ESTATES IN IRELAND, AND IN ENGLAND AND WALES—PROPORTIONS OF ARABLE LAND TO TOTAL AREA IN IRELAND, AND IN ENGLAND AND WALES, AND SCOTLAND RESPECTIVELY—NUMBER OF AGRICULTURAL OCCUPIERS IN IRELAND, AND IN ENGLAND AND WALES—AVERAGE SIZE OF HOLDINGS IN EACH COUNTRY—AVERAGE NUMBER OF OCCUPIERS TO EACH PROPRIETOR—NUMBER OF FARMERS IN EACH COUNTRY—AVERAGE NUMBER OF FARMERS TO EACH PROPRIETOR.

We have now to proceed to the consideration of the present land-letting system of Ireland. The number of landed proprietors in Ireland is given as 8,412 by the census of 1861. To this must be added those who were not in the country on the day of the taking the census—viz. absentee proprietors (including the twelve London companies), members of Parliament, officers of the army and navy, and others, being Irish landowners, temporarily absent, or enumerated under other heads. There are no accurate data; but, from lists and estimates formed from time to time, the number to be added may be taken at something over 1,000, which would bring the total number of landed proprietors in Ireland up to 9,500. Their estates range from 100,000 acres down to very small portions of land. The number

[1] 'Plantation Scheme.' [2] In August 1869.

of landed proprietors in England and Wales is stated by the census of 1861 to be 30,766, to which may be added over 1,200 for those residing abroad, travelling, and absent on foreign service. This would make the total number 32,000.[1]

The average size of estates in Ireland is 2,139 statute acres, being very nearly double that of England and Wales, viz.:—

	No. of Landed proprietors	Total Area Statute acres	Average size of estates Statute acres
England and Wales	32,000	37,324,883	1167
Ireland	9,500	20,319,924	2139

It is well to observe here, that the proportions of arable land to the total areas are nearly the same in both countries: that of England and Wales being 68 per cent., or 25,347,495 acres, and that of Ireland 76½ per cent., or 15,542,208 acres. In Scotland the arable land is so small a proportion, being 22⅓ per cent., or 4,379,552 acres out of 19,639,377, that, in this and other respects, no general comparison can be instituted between that country and Ireland.[2]

Dividing the arable land in each country by the number of proprietors; we shall find that the average area held by each proprietor in Ireland is more than double the average in England and Wales, viz.:—

	No. of landed proprietors Census 1861	Total of arable land 1867 Statute acres	Average area of arable land held by each proprietor Statute acres
England and Wales.	32,000	25,347,495	792
Ireland	9,500	15,542,208[3]	1636

[1] 1,234 may appear a small number to allow for landed proprietors absent from England, at the date of taking the census, but, in fixing the number so low, I have had regard to the circumstance of its being the full London season, and the fact of several who were proprietors in both countries, and again of several who were Irish proprietors only, being in England at the time, and enumerated accordingly. The number of landed proprietors enumerated in Scotland is 1,983, to which 200 may be added for those absent on the day of the census—April 7-8, 1861.

[2] Agricultural Returns of the Board of Trade for 1867, as corrected in Returns for 1868, pp. 10, 11. Arable land here is taken as 'Land under all kinds of crops, bare fallow, and grass, inclusive of permanent pasture not broken up in rotation (exclusive of heath or mountain land).'

[3] In some of the official returns which I quote, the area of land in Ireland

We next come to the occupiers of the soil. Of these there are 597,628 in Ireland,[1] and 432,334 in England and Wales. The average size of the holdings of the former is 26, and of the latter 59 statute acres of arable land, viz.:—

	No. of all occupiers in 1867	Total of arable land Statute acres	Average size of holdings Statute acres
England and Wales	432,334	25,451,526	59
Ireland	597,628	15,542,208	26

From the foregoing figures it appears that the average number of all tenants under each landed proprietor is four and a half times as great in Ireland as in England and Wales, viz.:—

	No. of landed proprietors	No. of all occupiers 1867	Average No. of occupiers to each proprietor
England and Wales	32,000	432,334	13½
Ireland	9,500	597,628	63

From official figures, it also appears that, deducting labourers and others with small allotments, the average number of farmers under each proprietor is six times as great in Ireland as in England and Wales, viz.:—

	No. of landed proprietors	No. of farmers 1861	Average No. of farmers to each proprietor
England and Wales	32,000	249,745	7⅘
Ireland	9,500	440,882	46⅖

These are important facts, the bearing of which we shall presently see. There are, it is true, in both countries, some landed proprietors who are themselves occupiers. Of these the proportion is smaller in Ireland than in England and Wales. For instance, Ireland has no class analogous to the statesmen of Cumberland. But, in either country, the proportion is not so great as to affect the general calculation.

is that of 1866, and in others, that of 1867. There is a slight variation each year; for instance, the arable land of 1867 is 8,023 acres less than that of the preceding year. This makes no practical difference, but I mention the circumstance to prevent misconception.

[1] There are several landholders in Ireland who hold more farms than one. For instance, in 1866, there were only 539,355 occupiers to 597,628 holdings. However, as a farmer with two holdings generally puts a son into one, to which that son will ultimately succeed; and as, moreover, it is not unusual, in such cases, to hold under two landlords, I adopt the number of holdings, all through, for the number of occupiers, in my calculations.

CHAPTER XXIV.

NUMBER OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS IN IRELAND; NUMBER AND PARTICULARS OF THOSE OF AND UNDER FIFTEEN ACRES, AND OF THOSE OF OVER THAT SIZE, RESPECTIVELY—BY FAR THE LARGEST PROPORTION OF SMALL HOLDINGS IN ULSTER; THE SMALL FARMERS OF ULSTER A COMPARATIVELY PROSPEROUS CLASS—NUMBER OF HOLDINGS IN EACH PROVINCE, CLASSED ACCORDING TO SIZE—NUMBER, AND OTHER PARTICULARS OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS IN EACH PROVINCE VALUED AT UNDER 10*l.*; THE SAME VALUED AT OVER 10*l.*—LABOURERS' ALLOTMENTS AVERAGING ABOUT HALF AN ACRE; A CONSIDERABLE INCREASE IN THESE—THE AREA HELD BY OCCUPIERS OF FIFTEEN ACRES AND UNDER, ONLY ONE-EIGHTH OF THE TOTAL AREA OF THE ARABLE LAND OF IRELAND; SYNOPSIS WITH FULL PARTICULARS.

Of the 597,628 occupiers of land in Ireland, more than one-half are occupiers of holdings of from 15 acres down, and the remainder hold an average of 46 acres. In both cases I speak only of arable land, excluding woods and plantation, as well as bog and waste. Not that the bog and waste in Ireland ought to be all called unprofitable land, inasmuch as the bogs, affording an immense supply of cheap fuel, are so far profitable, and employ a considerable amount of labour in the saving of the 'turf crop.' I make the full deduction, however, for the purpose of the comparison of Ireland with England and Wales, such being the rule adopted in the Agricultural Returns of the Board of Trade.

The figures then will stand thus:—

Year 1867	Holdings of and under 15 acres	Holdings over 15 acres	Total
Number of holdings.	302,335	295,293	597,628[1]
	Acres	Acres	Acres
Arable land	1,917,589	13,632,642	15,550,231
Woods and plantations	13,004	314,886	327,890
Bog and waste	192,062	4,249,741	4,441,803
Total area	2,122,655	18,197,269	20,319,924
Average of all land	7	61⅔	34
Average of arable land	6⅓	46⅙	26

[1] In this return two or more holdings occupied by the same person are enumerated as one.

It is important to note that by far the largest proportion of the small holdings are in Ulster, where the tenure of land is secure, and where agriculture is supplemented by manufacturing industry; the small farmers' families being engaged, some in factory work and some in handloom weaving, the manipulation of flax, and the sewed muslin trade, in their own homes. These small farmers of Ulster are a comparatively prosperous class, and from their little holdings has gone forth no inconsiderable proportion of what now constitutes the successful commercial and professional element of the country.

The following return gives the number of holdings in each province, in classes, according to size, in 1861:—

	Leinster	Munster	Ulster	Connaught	Total
Not above 1 acre .	14,447	9,825	8,089	7,719	40,080
Above 1 to 5 acres	23,848	13,736	28,458	19,427	85,469
Above 5 to 15 acres	29,515	21,959	82,053	50,404	183,931
Total of 15 acres and under	67,810	45,520	118,600	77,550	309,480
Above 15 acres .	63,610	82,638	97,124	55,712	199,084
Total . .	131,420	128,158	215,724	133,262	608,564

Here we find, that in Ulster the number of holdings of 15 acres and under is more than those of Leinster and Munster added together, and half again as many as those of Connaught. But, perhaps, a better idea will be formed of the true state of the case by our grouping the holdings of the four provinces according to their valuation, giving the number valued at under 10*l.* and over 10*l.* respectively, and the average size of all the holdings of each province.

PURELY AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS IN 1867.

Valued at	Leinster	Munster	Ulster	Connaught	All Ireland
Under £10 .	68,906 .	61,760 .	133,804 .	101,396 .	365,866
Over £10 .	63,765 .	64,391 .	88,142 .	26,700 .	242,998
Total of holdings	132,671 .	126,151 .	221,946 .	128,096 .	608,864[1]

[1] Two or more holdings in the occupation of the same person are enumerated separately.

27368

	Leinster Statute acres	Munster Statute acres	Ulster Statute acres	Connaught Statute acres	All Ireland Statute acres
Total area	4,784,048	5,915,454	5,283,686	4,207,009	20,190,197[1]
Arable land	4,072,594	4,595,701	4,062,436	2,794,081	15,524,812

	Leinster Acres	Munster Acres	Ulster Acres	Connaught Acres	All Ireland Acres
Average size of holdings of total area	36	47	24	33	33
Ditto of arable land	30⅔	36½	18⅓	22	25

In the next place, we must take into account that there are in the four provinces several among the holders of 15 acres and under, who have other modes of industry, such as cattle-jobbers, country shopkeepers, and small dealers. Then, again, there are among them 48,236 occupiers of land, not exceeding 1 acre, averaging 2R. 2P.—namely, agricultural labourers, with small allotments, which every one must rejoice to see increase, and which happily have of late considerably increased, the numbers being:—

	1851	1861	1866
Holdings not exceeding 1 acre	37,728	40,080	48,236

Thus, on the whole, it will be found, when we come to deal at close quarters with this question, that, of the 302,335 occupiers of 15 acres and under in Ireland, some 48,000 are agricultural labourers, with allotments averaging about half an acre, and one-half of the remainder are the comparatively prosperous small farmers of Ulster, and men not exclusively depending on their holdings in the other provinces; and that all, whether prosperous or otherwise, occupy only 1,917,589 acres, or but one-eighth of the arable land of the country, the remaining seven-eighths, or 13,632,642 acres being divided among the holders of over 15 acres, whose farms average 46 acres of arable land, or 61 acres, including woods and plantations and bog and waste.

The whole are set forth in the following synopsis, formed from the returns of the Registrar-General in 1866:—[2]

[1] Exclusive of the areas occupied by towns, villages, railways, canals, and water.

[2] Agricultural Statistics of Ireland, 1866, XIII.

CLASSIFICATION OF HOLDINGS	No. of Holdings in each Class	Extent of Land held by each Class	Average size of Holdings in each Class	Proportion per cent. of Holdings of each Class	DIVISION OF LAND				
					Under Crops	Grazing Land	Fallow	Woods and Plantations	Bog and Waste
Acres		Acres	A R P		Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres
Not exceeding 1 . . .	48,236	24,855	0 2 2	8·1	21,415	1,518	40	236	1,646
Above 1 and not over 5 .	79,742	282,070	3 2 6	13·3	176,651	78,860	362	2,818	23,379
Above 5 and not over 15 .	174,357	1,815,730	10 1 26	29·1	850,099	786,912	1,732	9,950	167,037
Total of 15 and under .	302,335	2,122,655	7 0 3	50·5	1,048,165	867,290	2,134	13,004	192,062
Above 15 and not over 30 .	136,499	3,046,793	22 1 11	22·8	1,212,242	1,463,059	3,329	16,703	351,460
Above 30 and not over 50 .	72,154	2,909,458	40 1 12	12·1	1,012,739	1,479,529	4,331	21,505	391,354
Above 50 and not over 100.	54,825	4,031,469	73 2 5	9·2	1,144,941	2,173,260	7,469	43,943	661,856
Above 100 and not over 200	21,900	3,287,195	150 0 16	3·7	678,213	1,846,688	4,390	67,035	690,869
Above 200 and not over 500	8,339	2,858,123	342 2 39	1·4	352,712	1,480,232	2,759	94,830	927,590
Above 500	1,576	2,064,231	1,309 3 7	0·3	71,556	694,186	1,007	70,870	1,226,612
Total above 15 . . .	295,293	18,197,269	61 2 20	49·5	4,472,403	9,136,954	23,285	314,886	4,249,741
Total of all sizes . .	597,628 [1]	20,319,924	34 0 0	100·0	5,520,568	10,004,244	25,419	327,890	4,441,803

[1] To these 597,628 separate holdings, there were 539,355 occupiers in 1866. Agricultural Statistics, X.

CHAPTER XXV.

AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS IN BOTH COUNTRIES; HOW ARRIVED AT; NEARLY THREE TIMES AS LARGE IN ENGLAND AND WALES AS IN IRELAND—COUNTIES OF LARGE AND SMALL HOLDINGS RESPECTIVELY IN ENGLAND AND WALES; THE SAME IN IRELAND—A SYSTEM EMBRACING A LARGE PROPORTION OF SMALL FARMS BEST SUITED TO IRELAND—EXAGGERATED NOTIONS ABOUT THE EXCESS OF SMALL HOLDINGS IN IRELAND—HAS THE SMALL HOLDING SYSTEM HAD A FAIR TRIAL IN IRELAND?

In determining the average size of farms in both countries, considerable allowance must be made for labourers' allotments and other small agricultural holdings, which, properly speaking, cannot be regarded as farms, and accordingly ought to be deducted. Allowance must also be made for gardens, pleasure grounds, parks, and demesnes. Of all these we cannot accurately arrive at the numbers or the aggregate areas in either country. We may, however, make a fair approximate estimate.

We have already seen the average size of all the agricultural holdings in England and Wales is 59 acres of arable land, or about twice and a quarter the average of Ireland, which is 26 acres. We find the total number of occupiers of land in both countries to be much greater than the number of farmers enumerated in the census returns; the excess in England and Wales being 56 per cent., and in Ireland 36 per cent., viz.:—

	No. of Agricultural Holdings	No. of Farmers[1] 1861	No. of Occupiers in excess of Farmers
England and Wales	432,334	249,745	182,589
Ireland	597,628	440,882	156,746

Taking the 127,978 holdings in Ireland of 5 acres and under, and their actual area of arable land, and 28,768 of those of the class above 5 and not exceeding 15 acres, and their average area, we have 156,746 holdings, being the excess of occupiers over farmers, and an area of 566,526 acres of arable land to be

[1] Enumerated thus—In census of England and Wales . . } Farmer, Grazier, 249,745
„ „ In census of Ireland } Farmer . . 440,697
Grazier . . 185

deducted. Let us apply the same measure to the 182,589 holdings of occupiers in excess of farmers in England and Wales, and we shall have to deduct there 659,930 acres of arable land. Let us further, in both cases, deduct for parks, gardens, and pleasure-grounds 1 per cent. We then have the following result:—

	No. of Farmers	Total area of arable land occupied by them Acres	Average size of Farms Arable Land Acres
England and Wales	249,745	24,440,690	98
Ireland	440,882	14,825,926	34

Thus, we see the average size of farms in England and Wales is 98, and in Ireland 34 statute acres of arable land.

In England, the large holdings prevail in the south-eastern and eastern counties, and the small farms in the north-midland counties, in Yorkshire and Wales, and in the north-western counties, comprising Lancashire and Cheshire. The pressing necessity for that standard of high farming, which English agriculture is still, generally speaking, far short of, but which it is most desirable it should attain, 'will inevitably lead to the gradual diminution of the largest farms, and to the concentration of the capital and attention of the farmer on a smaller space.'[1] To this high standard of culture leases are an essential condition.

In Ireland, the large holdings prevail in the grazing counties of Leinster and Munster, and parts of Connaught; and, generally, medium sized and small farms abound in the tillage districts. The great prevalence of small holdings is in Ulster and Connaught, especially in the counties of Donegal and Mayo. The enumeration and total areas of the several sizes have already been given from the returns of the Registrar-General.

Further on we shall see that, in the opinion of all authorities, the small farm system, or rather a mixed system, comprising a large proportion of small farms, is best suited to Ireland. I shall now merely observe, that it must be evident, from what I

[1] Caird's 'English Agriculture,' p. 484.

have thus far written, that, in discussing the Irish question, too much stress has been laid upon the alleged evils resulting from the number of small holdings in Ireland; and, unfortunately, attention has thus been diverted from a far more important consideration—the absence of that security for capital invested in farming, which in Ireland, as in all other countries, is an indispensable condition of agricultural prosperity.

Here naturally arises the question, Has the small-holding system, which is so much condemned by some, had a fair trial in Ireland? Clearly it has not, generally speaking. To test it properly, and I say this without at all entering here into the question of the comparative merits of large farming and *la petite culture*, it must be tried with the essential element of that perfect security which is the main cause of its success in countries of peasant proprietors.

In a future page we shall be enabled, by a careful comparison of authentic official figures, to arrive at a definite conclusion, based on results in gross produce, as to the relative value, at present, in the aggregate, of the large and small farms of Ireland.

CHAPTER XXVI.

TENANT-RIGHT OF ULSTER DEFINED; THE PRINCIPLE OF THE CUSTOM; TENANTS' DEFINITION OF IT; LANDLORDS' POWER OF INCREASING RENT UNDER IT; LANDLORDS GENERALLY RESPECT IT; COMPLAINTS TO THE CONTRARY; PRICES PAID FOR IT; ORIGIN OF THE CUSTOM—THE DEVON COMMISSION ON TENANT-RIGHT—NOTE, THE DEVON COMMISSION.

In the province of Ulster extensively prevails the custom of tenant-right, which is simply this—that the tenant claims and generally exercises a right to dispose of his holding for a sum of money, although he may himself be tenant-at-will, and although he may have expended nothing in permanent improvements; the party to whom he sells to be subject to the approval of his

landlord, and the landlord having full power to impose what rent he pleases.

In various parts of the province, sums equal to ten, twelve, or fifteen years' purchase upon the rent are commonly given for the tenant-right; and this not only where the rent is considered low, but where it is fully equal to the value.

The principle of the custom is this:—That the landlord acknowledges that the tenant, having either made the improvements or paid for them to those by whom they were made, has, first, a right to the unexhausted value of these improvements; and, secondly, a further right to be allowed to continue to enjoy them.

The tenants' definition of the custom is clearly set forth in the following resolution adopted at a recent meeting of tenantry at Magherafelt, in the county of Derry:—

> That the custom of tenant-right (commonly known as the tenant-right custom of Ulster) existing in this county for two hundred years and upwards, is founded upon the fact that the tenants, out of their own capital, have reclaimed the lands, and made all the improvements thereon in building, fencing, draining, subsoiling, and roads, without any expenditure of capital by the landlords, except in very rare instances; and that, under this custom, the original tenants and their successors have, since the establishment of the custom, had the continuous and uninterrupted occupation of their farms, so reclaimed and improved by them, with the right to sell their interest therein to a tenant of whom the landlord should approve, but subject practically to such rents as the landlords might impose.

Although the landlord has full power to increase the rent, as a rule it is not excessively or capriciously increased. There are some complaints, of late, of 'arbitrary and excessive increase of rents by landlords, thereby absorbing the interests of tenants in their farms;' but let us hope that such cases are exceptional.

Generally speaking, the landlords of Ulster do not directly invade this custom; but it is stated, in different quarters, that they are gradually undermining it by arbitrary increase of rent, by limiting the amount to be paid for the tenant-right by the

incoming tenant, and by restricting the sale of small farms by outgoing tenants to brother tenants on the same estate, with a view to consolidation. In some instances, the landlords themselves buy up the tenant-right, which is, so far, extinguished.

The price of tenant-right does not at all respond to the rent. For example, land may on one estate be high, and the tenant-right may be high also. On another estate equally good land may be low, and the tenant-right may be also low, although the exact opposite might be expected. Much depends upon the custom of the estate. The rent charged is also a matter of custom, not of competition, much depending upon the landlord and agent.

The origin of the custom is attributed by some to the fact of the proprietor and tenant, both placed on the land in the plantation of Ulster,[1] being of the same race and creed, the kindly feeling subsisting between them becoming the custom of the district, and thus extending to their neighbours of the native Irish. The obligation on landlords under the plantation to give a fixed term to their tenantry, also had its effect. Whatever the origin of the custom, its operation has been most beneficial.

Anomalous as this custom is (say the Devon Commissioners), if considered with reference to all ordinary notions of property, it must be admitted that the district in which it prevails has thriven and improved in comparison with other parts of the country; and, although we can foresee some danger to the just rights of property from the unlimited allowance of this 'tenant-right,' yet we are sure that evils more immediate, and of a still greater magnitude, would result from any hasty or general disallowance of it, and still less can we recommend any interference with it by law.[2]

---

[1] See Chap. lix.

[2] Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the occupation of land in Ireland; under date February 14, 1845. Digest II. 1120.

This commission, commonly called the Devon Commission, the Earl of Devon being chairman, was issued in December 1843, and was directed to five gentlemen well acquainted with Ireland, who, after visiting every part of the country, and taking much evidence upon oath, made their Report, which, inasmuch as the commission had great advantages over an ordinary

CHAPTER XXVII.

GENERAL TERM OF LEASES IN IRELAND—LEASES THE EXCEPTION; ANNUAL TENANCIES THE RULE—THE DEVON COMMISSION THEREON—LEASES RECOMMENDED BY THE DEVON COMMISSION; 'WANT OF TENURE' THE GENERAL COMPLAINT—IMPORTANT EVIDENCE OF JUDGE LONGFIELD AND THE RIGHT REVEREND DOCTOR KEANE ON THIS SUBJECT, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE OF 1865—BACKWARD STATE OF IRELAND RESULTING FROM WANT OF TENURE, AS EVIDENCED BY DOCTOR KEANE; STRIKING CASES TO THAT EFFECT DETAILED.

For reasons which we shall examine into further on, by far the greater parts of the tenants in Ireland now hold their land from year to year; whereas, prior to the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829, leases were common. Where leases now exist, they are generally for a term of twenty-one or thirty-one years, chiefly the latter; but leases are the exception—annual tenancies the rule.

On this subject the Devon Commission reported as follows, in 1845:—

> Looking generally through Ireland, we believe that the larger proportion of the land is occupied by tenants-at-will. There has been of late years, from various causes, an indisposition in many landlords to grant leases; and it appears, from the evidence, that in some cases where the landlord is willing, the tenants decline to take them out, influenced, to a certain degree by the high stamp duty.[1]

They are still more influenced, as is natural in the very backward state of agriculture in Ireland, by their unwillingness to assume the increased rent invariably proposed by landlords

---

Parliamentary Committee, sitting in London, is justly considered the most important and most authoritative document on the land question in Ireland, that has ever been published. I may here observe, that generally the witnesses examined by Parliamentary Committees on the Irish Land question are landed proprietors, land agents, and the clergy. In addition to these, the Devon Commission took the evidence of the farming classes, in each district—an element, which assuredly ought not to be omitted in such inquiries.

[1] Ibid. 1121.

as the basis of the lease; and, moreover, as we shall see further on, by conditions and covenants introduced by the landlords, which render the lease valueless.

Upon some well-regulated estates the property of intelligent and liberal landlords, who are upon the best footing with their tenants, no leases are given; but we cannot forbear to express our opinion that, as a general system, it is more for the interest of both landlord and tenant that leases of a moderate length should be granted. We feel, however, that this is one of the points which should be left to the discretion of individuals, and we cannot recommend any direct interference by the Legislature.

The most general and almost universal topic of complaint brought before us in every part of Ireland was the 'want of tenure,' to use the expression most commonly employed by the witnesses.

It is well known that the want of 'fixity of tenure' has, for some time past, been sedulously put forward as one of the most prominent grievances of the Irish tenant.

Some few of the witnesses before us have given to that term a meaning wholly inconsistent with any regard for the most generally admitted rights of the proprietors of the soil; but this is not common. Most of them have referred to this subject in much more moderate and reasonable language.

The uncertainty of tenure is, however, constantly referred to as a pressing grievance by all classes of tenants. It is said to paralyze all exertion, and to place a fatal impediment in the way of improvement.[1]

The evidence received by the several Parliamentary committees which have since considered the subject, is to the same effect—namely, that annual tenancies are the rule in Ireland, and leases the exception; and that the absence of security of tenure is a bar to agricultural improvement.

Before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1865, appointed to inquire into Mr. Cardwell's Act of 1860, entituled 'An Act to amend the Law for the Tenure and Improvement of Land in Ireland,' the Honourable Judge Longfield, Judge of the Incumbered Estates Court in Ireland, stated, in reply to Mr. Forster:—

[1] Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the occupation of land in Ireland; under date February 14, 1845. Digest II. 1121.

I have conversed with the buyers and sellers in my court in order to make myself as much acquainted as possible with this subject, and with the feelings of the people. Where the tenant-right exists in the north there are generally no leases; and, as to Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Cork, and Kerry, leases were far more common thirty years ago.

And, in reply to the O'Donoghue, the same witness stated:—

There is a natural dislike on the part of tenants to see the value of their improvements go into the landlord's pocket instead of their own. Most of the tenancies of Ireland are from year to year.

Of no less weight is the evidence of the Right Reverend Dr. Keane, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne, before the same committee, his replies being manifestly the conclusions arrived at by a thoughtful man, who had good opportunities of acquiring information, and had for many years devoted his attention to the subject.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. Maguire): You are the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne, in the County of Cork?—I am.

How many years have you been on the mission in Ireland?—Some twenty-six years.

During that time have you resided in various parts of the county of Cork?—Yes. My first mission was in the parish of Fermoy, where I remained for sixteen months. I then went to the parish of Midleton, as parish priest, and lived there for about ten years. I was then appointed to the diocese of Ross, and remained in it until June 1857. I was then translated back to the diocese of Cloyne, and have since lived at Fermoy and Queenstown.

Is it your duty to make frequent visitations through all the portions of your diocese?—Yes. I attend conferences, which take place four times a year, and I also go to parochial and confirmation visitations. On these occasions I go from parish to parish, from chapel to chapel. I make it part of my duty to visit every national school, and in that way there is not a part of the diocese with which I have not become practically acquainted.

Do these visitations afford you an opportunity of acquiring an accurate knowledge of the condition of the people, and the state of agriculture?—So far as seeing the country, and going through all parts of it, and speaking to the clergy and farmers, enable me to judge of the condition of the country, I do not think I could have a better

opportunity than I have had; and it was the same thing when I was in the diocese of Ross.

Are you acquainted with other parts of Ireland?—Yes. I have been through a good many of the counties.

Are you acquainted with other countries from residence in them?—I am acquainted with France, where I spent a few years; I have travelled twice through Belgium, and I have also some acquaintance with England.

From your opportunities of observing the condition of the country, what is your impression as to the state of agriculture in Ireland? Is it backward or progressive?—I am very sorry to say that the state of agriculture in Ireland is very backward indeed; and I am likewise very sorry to say that I do not see the slightest chance of improvement unless more encouragement be given to the tenant than is now offered to him. To those living constantly in Ireland this condition of things may not be so painful, because not so much observed, but on leaving the country for some time, and then crossing from England, as soon as ever I arrived in Ireland the first thing that struck me was that I witnessed more wretchedness and misery in one small town, with a population of 4,000, than I had seen throughout the length and breadth of England, France, and Belgium together. In the small country towns trade is completely destroyed; the shopkeepers are bankrupt, and where formerly English commercial travellers received numerous orders, they now receive none. Moreover, I have known of my own personal knowledge that there is not a single town in the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross where almost every day throughout the year, except for about three weeks during harvest time, and occasionally for a short period during spring time, you will not see men with families looking about for a day's work, and not being able to find it. The result is, that there is great depression amongst the people, and, that, finding no employment in Ireland, they are leaving the country. They feel that there is little chance for them unless they go elsewhere.

Do you attribute the absence of improvement to the want of security by lease or compensation?—I attribute the whole want of improvement in Ireland to causes created by the past, and which are perpetuated at present; and, so long as they continue, there is no chance that there can be permanent solid improvement in Ireland. The tenants will not improve if they have not perfect security. A gentleman farmer said to me the other day—'If I could be sure that all the improvements I made on my farm would be my own, there is not a single man, woman, or child idle in the whole parish that I could not employ, and with benefit to myself, to them, and to the country at large; but I dare

not. Having spent my money, my lease would soon expire, and then all would go to the landlord.

Can you give an illustration or point where a tenant who had reclaimed a waste was afterwards deprived by eviction of all the fruits of his labour?—Yes. A case came before the Master of the Rolls not very long ago where a tenant expended 300*l.* on his farm, and where the landlord evicted him, putting the whole of the improvement into his own pocket. The tenant appealed to the Master of the Rolls, who declared that he could give no relief, while he regretted that he was compelled by the law to do an injustice.

And that law continues up to this time?—It is the law at the present day, and will be the law until Parliament change it. I know of another case, but not exactly of the same kind—that of a parishioner of my own. He has a farm of 120 acres; 90 acres are under cultivation, and 30 acres are bog. I said to him, 'Why do you not improve that?' His answer was,—'If I could calculate upon the fruits of my industry, I would set about the work to-morrow, but, uncertain as I am that it may not be holding out an invitation to the landlord to turn me out of the good land, or to raise the rent on the land, I will let it remain as it is. It is worth to me now 7*s.* 6*d.* an acre; I am paying 5*s.* The value to me is 2*s.* 6*d.* If I improved its value to-morrow to 1*l.* the rent would be increased so much, and I would still have but 2*s.* 6*d.* profit. I have no notion of enriching my landlord in that manner.'

How was that land held?—Upon will.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

IMPROVEMENTS, IN ENGLAND EFFECTED BY THE LANDLORD; IN IRELAND BY THE TENANT; ARTHUR YOUNG, MR. CAIRD, AND THE DEVON COMMISSION THEREON—IMPROVEMENTS DEFINED—THE HONOURABLE JUDGE LONGFIELD'S AND RIGHT REVEREND DOCTOR KEANE'S EVIDENCE ON THE SAME SUBJECT IN 1865.

In England, as in Ireland, it is true, more than three-fourths of the farms are held under annual tenancies, terminable by a six months' notice from either party. But, in England, the tenant receives his land, with all improvements effected on it by the landlord; whereas in Ireland, as a rule, he gets it in a state of

nature, and in that state it remains, unless he effects the improvements himself.

As far as I can form an idea of the soil of the two kingdoms (writes Arthur Young, in 1778), Ireland has much the advantage; and, if I am accurate in this, surely a stronger argument cannot be used to show the immense importance of CAPITAL, first in the hands of the landlords of a country, and then in those of the farmers. I have reason to believe that 5*l.* sterling per English acre, expended all over Ireland, which amounts to 88,341,136*l.*, would not more than build, fence, plant, drain, and improve that country to be on a par, in those respects, with England. And farther, that if those 88,000,000*l.* were so expended, it would take much above 20,000,000*l.* more (or above 20s. an acre), in the hands of the farmers, in stock of husbandry, to put them on an equal footing with those of her sister kingdom; nor is this calculation so vague as it might at first sight appear, since the expenses of improvements and stock are very easily estimated in both countries.[1]

Some seventy years later, Mr. Caird thus comments on these words of Arthur Young:—

Can it be said, in the immense majority of cases, that there has been any change in this, or that the landlords generally have expended any capital in providing necessary buildings, &c., on their farms? In that respect there has been no change.[2]

Since Mr. Caird's visit, 1849, something has been done, in the way of farm buildings, on particular estates, the landlord generally giving timber and slates, and the tenant finding the remainder. Such cases, however, are exceptional. But very little, indeed, has been accomplished in the important work of draining, subsoiling, and otherwise improving the land; so that what was written in 1778 holds true to-day, viz.:—

The English farmer pays a rent for his land in the state he finds it, which includes not only the natural fertility of the soil, but the immense expenditure which national wealth has, in the progress of time, poured into it; but the Irishman finds nothing he can afford to pay a

---

[1] Arthur Young's 'Tour in Ireland, in 1776, 1777, and 1778,' vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 12.

[2] 'The Plantation Scheme,' p. 126. By James Caird.

rent for, but what the bounty of God has given, unaided by wealth or industry.[1]

What a difference it would make, not alone to landlord and tenant, but to the State, if Ireland were like all other civilized countries in this respect! I cannot resist once again quoting Mr. Caird on the subject:—

In all this rich tract of country (co. of Limerick), upwards of forty miles of which I traversed to-day, there is no attempt at anything like high farming. Bone-dust and guano, as auxiliaries to the farm-yard manure, are scarcely tried; and feeding with linseed cake, beans, or other imported food quite unknown. The rent and rates of the best land, as now reduced, may be stated at 30*s.* per English acre; but there are no sufficient farm buildings in the country, and landlords generally have not the means to make them. If, with these disadvantages, and the generally bad system of cultivation practised, this rent can be made from the land, how much more beneficial would it be to the community, and how much more profitable to a man who had sufficient skill and capital thoroughly to develop its capabilities! But where is that man to come from, so long as landlords are unable to provide the permanent accommodations which are necessary? [2]

It is well known (observe the Devon Commissioners) that in England and Scotland, before a landlord offers a farm for letting, he finds it necessary to provide a suitable farm-house, with necessary farm buildings, for the proper management of the farm. He puts the gates and fences into good order, and he also takes upon himself a great part of the burden of keeping the buildings in repair during the term; and the rent is fixed with reference to this state of things. Such, at least, is generally the case, although special contracts may occasionally be made, varying the arrangement between landlord and tenant.

In Ireland the case is wholly different. The smallness of the farms, as they are usually let, together with other circumstances, to which it is not necessary to advert, render the introduction of the English system extremely difficult, and in many cases impracticable.

It is admitted on all hands, that according to the general practice in Ireland the landlord builds neither dwelling-house nor farm offices, nor puts fences, gates, &c., into good order before he lets his land to a tenant.

---

[1] Arthur Young's 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 12.

[2] 'Plantation Scheme,' p. 72.

The cases in which a landlord does any of those things are the exceptions.

The system, however, of giving aid in these matters is becoming more prevalent.

In most cases, whatever is done in the way of building or fencing is done by the tenant; and, in the ordinary language of the country, dwelling-houses, farm buildings, and even the making of fences are described by the general term 'improvements,' which is thus employed to denote the necessary adjuncts to a farm, without which, in England or Scotland, no tenant would be found to rent it.

Under the same common term of improvements are also included various agricultural operations, such as draining, deep trenching, and even manuring, which ought to stand upon a very different footing from buildings.

It will be seen, by reference to the evidence, that many witnesses of various classes have spoken of the discouragement to improvement that arises from the want of some certain tenure in the land.[1]

This was written in the year 1845. The difficulty then referred to, as arising from the smallness of the farms, has, to a great extent, been removed by the consolidation of holdings that has since taken place. Nevertheless, the effecting of improvements, as a rule, is still thrown exclusively on the tenant, while 'the discouragement to improvement that arises from the want of some certain tenure in the land' continues unabated, as may be seen from the following evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1865:—

The Honourable Judge Longfield, examined by Mr. Lowe:—

You say improvements in Ireland are made by the tenants?—Yes.

How do you account for that?—The landlords in Ireland have not been a wealthy or prudent body of men.

I think you say that the tenants have a less amount of capital than people in the same position in Scotland or England?—Certainly.

How is it, then, if the landlords and tenants are both poor and careless, that these improvements can be made by the tenants?—Because many of the improvements may be made by the tenants themselves by their own labour on the farm.

The Right Reverend Dr. Keane, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cloyne, examined by the chairman:—

[1] Report of the Devon Commission. Digest, pt. ii. pp. 1122-3.

Without referring to the authority of those who have spoken or written on the subject, is the result of your experience this—that such improvements as are made in the country are made as a rule by the tenant, and not by the landlord?—I never heard of any improvements having been made by the landlord between 1780 and 1840. Since the sale of property in the Incumbered Estates Court I believe that landlords to a certain extent have done more in this way than before; but, as a rule, it was the tenants that made the improvements; and as a rule at this moment, the tenants do not make improvements, because they have not the encouragement that they had at 1780. At that time they had leases. After emancipation leases ceased to be the rule; tenancies at will became general, and that is what has checked the progress of improvement.

CHAPTER XXIX.

POVERTY OF IRISH LANDLORDS—ABSENTEEISM—SMALL NUMBER OF PROPRIETORS IN IRELAND—SEVERAL NON-RESIDENT AGENTS—WANT OF SYMPATHY BETWEEN LANDLORD AND TENANT—SUMMARY OF POINTS OF DIFFERENCE IN THE WHOLE LAND SYSTEM BETWEEN ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

IRELAND suffers from other serious drawbacks, in the poverty of the resident landlords, as a class, in the non-residence of the largest and wealthiest proprietors, and in those feelings of mutual distrust which too often separate the owners and tillers of the soil, strongly contrasting with the sympathy that unites the same classes in England and all other civilized countries.

The number of proprietors of land in Ireland is small, when compared with its extent and the amount of its agricultural population. This circumstance, while probably it is one of the causes which has led to the want of that personal attention to the condition of the tenantry, which is at once the duty and interest of landlords, renders also the impediments in the way of improvement, arising from the nature of the proprietors' tenure, a matter of more urgent public importance in Ireland than elsewhere.

It frequently happens that large estates in that country are held by the proprietors in strict limitation; and the pecuniary circumstances of the landed proprietors generally, arising in some cases out of family changes,

and resulting in others from improvidence or carelessness possibly of former proprietors, disable many, even of the best disposed landlords, from improving their property, or encouraging improvement amongst their tenantry, in the manner which would conduce at once to their own interest and the public advantage. Many of the evils incident to the occupation of land in Ireland may be attributed to this cause.[1]

During the last twenty years, about one-seventh of the landed property of the country has changed hands through the agency of the Incumbered Estates and Landed Estates Court; but several of the new proprietors, having had to borrow a portion of the purchase-money, are not in a position to improve or encourage improvements; and, consequently, for the common weal, are little better than the embarrassed landlords whom they have succeeded. Even where the purchasers are wealthy men, they appear generally to fall into the beaten track, and to content themselves with drawing their rents, throwing the effecting of improvements altogether on their tenants.

It would be no difficult matter here to give the names, and in round numbers, the rentals of the noble lords and gentlemen, who are the largest proprietors in Ireland, and who, residing in England, receive, through their agents, over 4,000,000*l.* a year, or one-third of the rental of the country. Many of the agents, too, are non-resident on the properties. 'Irish estates are often managed in agency by houses in Dublin,' says Judge Longfield. 'It is a bad system, and many cases have come before me where the agent could not give me the slightest idea of the boundaries of the farms which he was supposed to manage. The duties of agency were confined to the collection of rent and the deduction of 1*s.* in the pound. The landlords are now becoming alive to the necessity of more carefully managing their properties.'[2] Even though all the absentee proprietors had resident agents, performing their duties conscientiously and well, this would not compensate for the want of the great advantages

[1] Report of the Devon Commission. Digest, pt. ii. p. 1117.

[2] Before the Select Committee, House of Commons, May 15, 1865.

accruing to the agriculture of England from the residence of the squire in the midst of his tenantry, either the whole or during a considerable portion of the year.

With respect to the absence of sympathy between landlord and tenant, the Devon Commission reported as follows in 1845:—

> The foundation of almost all the evils by which the social condition of Ireland is disturbed is to be traced to those feelings of mutual distrust, which too often separate the classes of landlord and tenant, and prevent all united exertion for the common benefit.[1]

That the same state of feeling exists in the present day is unfortunately but too notorious, from the evidence before the several Parliamentary committees, as well as from the experience of all who are acquainted with the management of land in Ireland.[2]

Here then we have the following established facts. The tenants of Ireland hold their land, as a rule, from year to year. The same is the case in England and Wales. But the parity goes no farther. In England and Wales the improvements of the farm are made by the landlord. In Ireland the landlords either cannot or will not effect improvements, which are thrown almost exclusively on the tenant; but the tenant holding by the year will not make them; for, in the words of Judge Longfield, —'He has a natural dislike to see the value of his improvements go into the landlord's pocket instead of his own.'[3] In England and Wales the landlords are rich. In Ireland the resident landlords, as a class, are poor. In England and Wales the landlords reside, either altogether, or for a considerable portion of the year, on their estates; whereas, the largest and wealthiest proprietors of Ireland reside out of the country, from

[1] Report of the Devon Commission. Digest, pt. ii. p. 1166.

[2] The 'Times' Commissioner on the Land Question in Ireland in 1869, bears testimony to the existence of these feelings between landlord and tenant, in several of his letters.

[3] Evidence before the Committee of 1865, supra.

which they draw more than 4,000,000*l.* a year, to be spent in England or on the Continent. In England and Wales there are manufactures as well as agriculture. In Ireland, save in Ulster, the people depend almost exclusively on agriculture. In Enggland and Wales the tenant-at-will is not removed as long as he pays his rent. In Ireland, unfortunately, the tenant-at-will, paying his rent, is not safe from eviction. In England and Wales there is a thorough good understanding and sympathy between the owners and tillers of the soil; whilst in Ireland, on the contrary, the feeling pervading these classes is one of mutual distrust. With all this, the average size of estates in England and Wales is 1,167 statute acres, being little more than one-half of that in Ireland, which is 2,139 acres; while the average number of all tenants is 13½, and of farmers 7⅘, to each proprietor in England and Wales, against 63, and 46⅔ respectively, to each proprietor in Ireland. Thus, for the discharge of the important duties of landlords to their tenants, even without deducting absentee proprietors, the effective power in Ireland, numerically speaking, is considerably less than one-fourth of that in England and Wales, while, on the other hand, whether for weal or woe, sixty-three families, on the average, are dependent on the will of each proprietor in Ireland, against fourteen in the sister country.

This last is, indeed, a striking difference, even though all other circumstances were equal; but when we take into account all the other circumstances just detailed—circumstances presenting the strongest contrast between the two countries, it becomes a fact of serious import, and one that we should bear steadily in mind all through the course of this inquiry.

CHAPTER XXX.

RESULTS OF THE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE IN THE ENGLISH AND IRISH LAND-SYSTEMS—STRIKING CONTRAST OF THE AGRICULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES—CONTRAST OF THE AGRICULTURE OF ULSTER AND OF THE OTHER PROVINCES—OPINION OF THE 'SAXON IN IRELAND' ON THE BACKWARD STATE OF IRISH AGRICULTURE—RESULTS OF THE EXODUS, SEEN IN AN EXCURSION THROUGH THE SOUTH OF IRELAND—DEPOPULATION AND DECAY OF SMALL INLAND TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

THE results of these several points of difference are plainly evident on the face of the land, to any Englishman visiting Ireland. The traveller from Euston Square proceeding to Dublin, *viâ* Holyhead, and then taking the train to Cork, Limerick, Galway, or Killarney; or, again, starting from Paddington, crossing from Bristol to Cork, and thence journeying by rail to Dublin, must be painfully struck by the contrast presented in the agricultural aspects of the two countries. Instead of the great garden-like fields of England, blooming in luxuriance, the picturesque hamlets, with their comfortable cottages grouped around the parish church, the thriving towns, the look of busy industry—those characteristic features that light up the landscape and gladden the eye in the English counties—in Ireland he passes through vast solitudes, luxuriant in herbage, it is true, but too frequently rush-grown, the invariable sign of want of drainage. The occasional patches of tillage only show, in their heavy crops, how great is the natural fertility of the soil, and what wealth it would produce for the country, if labour and capital were freely expended upon it.

Should the traveller direct his course northward, and proceed to Belfast, and then return by Coleraine and Londonderry, he will imagine himself in quite another country. He will see neat whitewashed farm-houses dotted all over the scene, much tillage, fine crops, untiring industry—abundant evidence of

agricultural prosperity on every side in this province, of tenant-right and small holdings.[1]

The following are the impressions of an English gentleman farmer who visited Ireland some twenty years ago, with a view to taking land and settling in the country:—

Capabilities abound (says the author of the Saxon in Ireland[2]), but are unthought of or unappropriated; and the wearied eye gazes and gazes on, till the heart sickens and the spirit waxes faint. 'Did you ever see such a mess as this,' said a burly English farmer from Suffolk, who sat beside me on one of Bianconi's cars, as we were crossing the country; 'by all that's mortal, sir, did you ever see a fine country so brutally and inhumanly treated?' The interior of Ireland, however, notwithstanding its present desolate appearance, is in many parts extremely rich and productive; and to those who care little for sporting, and less for the picturesque, many admirable locations are afforded. Roscommon, for instance, is an uninviting and cheerless tract of country, but the meadow lands are among the finest in the British Empire, and the smallest amount of care and attention would be amply and quickly remunerated. But, generally speaking, the population is miserable, and the occupiers of land ignorant and helpless. I have walked over farms in that and some of the neighbouring counties, that in England would have averaged a rent of two pounds an acre, while here they were occupied by a few cottar tenants, or a casual grazier, who runs his cattle over them for a few weeks in the summer. No fences, no gates, no farm-houses or buildings, no sign of a proprietor, nor of anything else, indeed, but barbarous and wicked neglect.

To a considerable extent, these observations apply at the present day. There are, it is hardly necessary to say, some pleasing exceptions, where the tenants hold under a good landlord, and enjoy the security of a lease. Thus, in the author's own words:—

In speaking of Ireland, it is impossible to speak of it as a whole. In every barony, almost in every townland, you witness fertility and

[1] First class farming, on a large scale, may also be seen in Ulster. On the right bank of the Foyle, approaching Londonderry from Coleraine, are extensive tracts of rich alluvial land, embanked from the sea, bearing splendid crops, and exhibiting *la grande culture* under its most favourable aspect.

[2] 'The Rambles of an Englishman in the West; or, the Saxon in Ireland.' Appendix, p. 239.

barrenness, cultivation and neglect. One might fancy the character of the proprietor written in the countenances and garb of his tenantry, the state of their habitations, and the treatment of their land.

But what particularly strikes the traveller, above everything else at the present day—indeed, much more so than when the 'Saxon in Ireland' made his tour—is the want of population in the rural districts. A short time ago, accompanied by a friend, I made an excursion through the south of Ireland, on a side car—the generic Irish car—and there is no better way of seeing a country. It is by thus leaving the busy track of the railroad that one can really see and appreciate the effects of the exodus. What is the prevailing feeling on such an occasion—what sentiment is impressed most forcibly on the mind by all that we observe? An air of solitude weighs heavily on these vast tracts of fertile land—rich in verdure into the depths of winter; cattle and sheep are seen in abundance; but where are the human beings? The joyous carol of the birds, the rippling of a stream, the footfall of our horse, and the roll of the car—no other sound than these strikes the ear. The landscape, no doubt, in many parts, is beautiful; and yet the most beautiful production of Claude is the better for the human figures which the artist disposes in the foreground; the air is balmy, the sun over head most agreeable, in this most equable climate; the rapid motion of the car along a well-kept, though little used, road, ought in itself to be exhilarating; the whole face of nature is smiling; and yet the soul is sad. We miss the hum of industry; we look in vain for the habitations of men. The venerable ivy-clad ruins of church and abbey, and massive castle, standing out like bold capitals, in an ancient illuminated missal, and telling of ages of faith and feudal dependence, and of a race of hardy retainers, who once dwelt under the shadow of those walls and tilled the land around; the roofless cabins still remaining—for the traces of many have been removed; these combined are eminently suggestive—suggestive of melancholy thoughts, especially to those who have travelled

through continental countries, who have visited the neat dwellings of the Flemish peasant and the villages of the Norman farmer; or, still more, to those who have seen some of the former occupants of these now deserted plains, foremost among the pioneers of civilization, clearing the primeval forest—

Driving the ploughshare through earth's virgin soils,

and bringing up their children in comfort and independence in the far western states, on the other side of the Atlantic.

Our reflections were melancholy, indeed. 'Whither,' we asked our driver, 'have all the people gone; what has become of them?' 'Why, sir,' was the reply, 'there is no one in the country except those who have something to hold by, and those who have not the means of going; all the rest are off to America.' 'Are there many,' continued we, 'in this neighbourhood, who have not the means of going?' 'Well, then, sir,' he replied, 'there are some, but they'll mostly all go in the long run; their friends send for them.'

In the little village of Ballingarry, in the county of Limerick, where we stayed for about a quarter of an hour, to change our horse, considerably more than one-half the houses were untenanted and falling into ruin; and the occupants of the remainder, which were mostly falling into ruin too, exhibited all the symptoms of abject poverty. And so with other villages. In the several larger county-towns there is an alarming falling off in the population; and houses originally built for, and occupied by, respectable persons, with means to spend, are now let out in tenements to labourers.

CHAPTER XXXI.

REMARKABLE DECREASE IN THE AREA OF ROOT CROPS IN IRELAND, NOTWITHSTANDING THE INCREASE OF LIVE STOCK—HISTORY OF THE TURNIP CULTURE OF ENGLAND—COKE OF NORFOLK—WONDERS EFFECTED IN ENGLISH AGRICULTURE BY MR. COKE—THE HOLKHAM ESTATE—'MARL AND TURNIPS HAVE MADE THE COUNTY'—RAPE CAKE—LARGE EXPENDITURE BY MR. COKE IN FARM BUILDINGS AND IMPROVEMENTS—LARGE EXPENDITURE BY HIS TENANTS IN ARTIFICIAL FOOD AND MANURES.

In an early page we have seen how admirably suited to the growth of turnips is the soil of most of the counties of Ireland. No less favourable to this crop is the climate. Yet the growth of turnips has considerably decreased within the last twenty years in Ireland—and that, although there has been a very great increase in the number of animals requiring to be fed on green crops. This fact stands out, a conclusive proof of the decline of the agriculture of the country; for, Ireland's *forte* being root crops, the following figures must be taken as an indication of anything but progress:—

Years	Head of Cattle	No. of Sheep	Years	Head of Cattle	No. of Sheep
1851	2,967,461	2,122,128	1867	3,702,378	4,826,015
1861	3,471,688	3,556,050	1868	3,646,796	4,901,496
1866	3,746,157	4,274,282	1869	3,727,794	4,648,158

Years	Turnips Acres	Mangel and Beet Acres	Total Acres
1851	383,548	25,847	409,395
1861	334,104	22,949	357,053
1866	317,198	20,162	337,360
1867	335,711	18,805	354,516
1868	320,094	19,109	339,203
1869	321,880	21,127	343,007

Here we have a decrease of 66,388 acres in the area under root crops since 1851; and yet, by turnip culture, our production of meat might, in many districts, be increased to double what it is!

On the great proportion of good land in the west of Ireland (says Mr. Caird), there can be nothing to prevent sheep being sold fat at twelve to fifteen months, instead of three years, as at present, turnips

or other artificial food being of course provided. The accomplishment of this change would make a very material increase to the wealth of that country.[1]

The actual increase of cattle and sheep that has taken place in our luxuriant, but too often rush-grown, plains, without an adequate culture of green crops for their support, cannot be set down to good farming; for even thus has the bison multiplied to millions in the wide prairies and pampas of the American continent—those vast solitudes unbroken by the plough, and uninvaded by the industry of man.

It has been observed, with truth, that the revolution effected in the agriculture of England by the introduction and general extension of the turnip crop, is second only to that effected in her manufactures by the inventions of Watt and Arkwright. About the middle of the last century, in the reign of George II., the turnip culture, properly so called, was introduced by Lord Townshend, in the county of Norfolk; and that county, which was then, for the most part, a tract of sandy wastes, commons, and sheep walks, soon became the best farmed district in the United Kingdom. The great impulse, however, was given to the agriculture of Norfolk by Mr. Coke, afterwards first Earl of Leicester. That celebrated agriculturist succeeded to the estate of Holkam in the year 1776. The average rent of the whole property was then 5*s.* an acre, at which the tenants of a considerable portion refused to continue to hold their farms. Mr. Coke, thus finding a large extent of land thrown on his hands, proceeded to farm it himself. He applied to the working of his estate that far-seeing intelligence and energy which characterised him through life. Carefully studying the capabilities of the soil, and availing of the materials close at hand, he rapidly improved the whole face of the estate, and set an invaluable example, not only to his own tenantry, but to the whole county.

By the judicious use of marl, which abounds in Norfolk at various depths beneath the surface, as we have seen it does in

[1] 'Plantation Scheme,' p. 123.

most parts of Ireland; and the application of rape cake[1] as artificial manure, he gradually improved the light lands, and changed them from a rye to a wheat growing country. It is a common saying in Norfolk that 'turnips and marl have made the county.' Having thus practically proved the advantages and capabilities of the soil, he encouraged farmers with capital to take and improve lots, by giving them twenty-one years' leases, and providing them suitable farm buildings. In fifty years, it is stated, he expended 400,000*l.* in farm buildings and other permanent improvements; and it is estimated that in the same time his tenants expended 500,000*l.* in artificial food and manures. Thus, the extensive tract of Holkham Heath, and a large extent of land besides, which Mr. Coke reclaimed from the sands of the sea, have been made to bear abundant crops of grain and turnips, and to feed large flocks and herds, where it was at one time observed in jest, 'You might see two rabbits fighting for one blade of grass.'

And what were the results? The rental of the estate, which was 2,200*l.* a year in 1776, had advanced to 22,000*l.* a year in 1819, besides timber, poles, and underwood, averaging 2,700*l.* a year more. Besides this increase of income to the landlord, a happy and prosperous tenantry were created around him by his wise and enlightened policy. Nor were the advantages confined to these. The resources of the land were fully developed, labour was employed, capital rapidly accumulated, the production of food for the community—and this is the main object of agriculture—was vastly increased, and an example was set that has long since extended beyond Norfolk, and has most beneficially influenced the best farmed districts of the kingdom.[2]

[1] Rape seed, after the oil is expressed, being unpalatable to cattle, is used with much benefit as a manure, drilled in with the winter or spring wheat, or used as a top dressing in spring. At a cost of 40*s.* an acre, it is said to increase the produce of wheat about 30 per cent.—viz. from 29 to 39 bushels, and to give one-fifth more of straw. Arthur Young notices its application in this way at a cost of 40*s.* to 42*s.* an acre in Norfolk in 1770.—Professor Johnston's 'Elements of Agricultural Chemistry,' p. 198.

[2] Monsieur De Lavergne calls the turnip 'the pivot of the agricultural

CHAPTER XXXII.

BELGIUM, THE COUNTRY OF SMALL FARMS—BARREN SANDS TRANSFORMED INTO THE RICHEST SOILS BY MAN'S INDUSTRY—INCESSANT MANURING AND WORKING OF THE SOIL; LIQUID MANURE—THE PAYS DE WAES BLOOMING LIKE A GARDEN, AND SUPPORTING IN ABUNDANCE AND HAPPINESS THE DENSEST POPULATION IN EUROPE—SIZE OF FLEMISH FARMS; WAGES, FOOD, AND CONDITION OF LABOURERS—A STRIKING CONTRAST TO IRELAND.

IMMEDIATELY opposite Norfolk—the county of large farms, and separated from it by only a narrow belt of sea, lies the country of '*la petite culture*,' in which still greater wonders have been effected by that 'painstaking labour and indefatigable industry which have transformed tracts of land, which might well have been deemed hopelessly sterile, into fertile spots, glad with the greenest of pastures, and bearing the richest of plants.'[1] Here, too, 'green crops' perform their part, even in the smallest holding.

Those acquainted with the historical details of agriculture are well aware of the important part the cultivation of 'green crops' plays in Flemish farming; but it is not so generally known that the success attained in this department, not only in raising good crops, but that in such quick succession as to astonish those acquainted only with the slower modes of procedure adopted in other countries, is mainly owing to the liberal supplies of manure, not given to the land merely before sowing, but to the plants at various stages of their growth. The whole gist, indeed, of Flemish farming is comprehended in the universally current proverb, which may be thus freely rendered: 'No harvest without manure, no manure without cattle, no cattle without forage.' This proverb, however, which so admirably shows the sequence and mutual dependence one on the other of the various proceedings of a well-conducted farm, does not fully convey the meaning of the word 'manure.' It is not confined to mere farmyard manure as with us. This the Belgian farmer would call *fumier*, whilst the comprehensive

---

prosperity of England.' It is the starting point of the celebrated Norfolk rotation, viz.—1st, turnips; 2nd, barley; 3rd, clover, or clover and rye grass; 4th, wheat.

[1] Burn's 'Agricultural Tour in Belgium,' p. 2. Longmans, 1862.

term *engrais* takes in a vast number of fertilizing materials, many of which are in these countries regarded as 'waste,' and as such turned to no account. The saving and making of liquid manure demands an appliance which forms an essential feature in every farmyard, no matter how humble its pretensions and limited the extent of the land attached to it. The smallest cottage, with its tiny patch of ground, has 'its liquid manure *tank*,' the contents of which play an important part in reducing to fertility the wretchedly poor soil with which the farmer has, in so many parts of Flanders, to deal.[1]

An acre of land destined for flax commonly receives 2,500 gallons of this *engrais liquide*, after a quantity of solid manure has been ploughed deep into the soil. Spade labour and abundant manuring are the great characteristics of Flemish husbandry. Here is the perfection of the garden system. Not a weed offends the eye. This is especially seen in the Pays de Waes, between Ghent and Antwerp, one of the most populous, best cultivated, and most productive districts in the world. The soil, originally a barren sand, has, by unceasing toil and constant manurings, been converted into a rich, deep black mould, teeming with luxuriant crops, covered with fine cattle, interspersed with large villages, and farms the perfection of neatness, and supporting in abundance and happiness the densest population in Europe.

The extent of the farms in Flanders, and throughout Belgium generally, rarely exceeds 100 acres. There are few as large as 50. The general size is 20, 15, 10, or 5 acres; chiefly those between 10 and 5.

The large farms employing labourers are very few. In the neighbourhood of Courtray they are more numerous than in any other district, excepting in those of the Polder. On a large farm of forty-seven hectares (112 acres) which we visited, in which twenty-five cows, two bulls, six horses, and fifty-one sheep were kept, the farmer informed us that he gave his labourers sixty-seven centimes (7*d.*) a day and their meat. The clothing of these men was in every respect good and comfortable

[1] Burn's 'Agricultural Tour in Belgium,' p. 45.

—far superior to that worn by our labourers—the fineness and purity of the shirts worn by them was something remarkable. In the districts where the *petite culture* is carried out, the same signs of material comfort are observable. Once, and only once, did we see, during all our wanderings in Flanders, both last year and this, a child with ragged clothes; and rarely in the rural districts are you solicited for alms. None of the signs of squalid poverty which too often disgrace our rural villages and hamlets are met with. We may, perhaps, have been particularly fortunate in seeing the best side of things; but as we were 'knocking about' at all times and in all places, had such signs existed we should surely have come across them now and then. Drunkenness, that great curse of our population, is very rare; and the utmost frugality and economy are practised by all. The houses are small; the general living room is on the ground floor, with a small room or closet or two off it, for sleeping. A bedroom is generally above in the attic, and lighted with a dormer or roof window. The furniture is of little amount, very plain, of birch generally; but cleanliness, and a thorough-going air of material comfort, pervade throughout. The stove is a prominent feature; and another not less prominent one is the brass utensils of various kinds, which every Flemish housewife must have, and which are universally kept in a condition of the brightest purity. A few pictures—those of the highly coloured slap-and-daub school, generally of Scripture subjects—sometimes grace the wall; if not these, a little ornamental font, for holy water, is hung up, and perhaps a little shrine with an image of the Holy Virgin. The neat clean blue blouse is universally worn by the men; wooden shoes by both sexes. The Sunday and fête-day clothing of the peasantry is wonderfully excellent for people of such apparently limited chances of making money—fine embroidered shirts, and good black cloth trousers. The food of the peasantry is of the simplest character. Rye-bread is a staple commodity, and sweet and butter milk is used. Potatoes and onions are generally partaken of for dinner, to which at times a little bacon or ham is added.[1]

What a contrast does the condition of the Flemish small farmer and labourer, here described, present to that of the same class in Ireland! A contrast as striking as that presented by the state of agriculture in both countries.

[1] Burn's 'Agricultural Tour in Belgium,' pp. 176-7.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

AREA OF CULTIVATED LAND IN BELGIUM; AREA IN THE HANDS OF PROPRIETORS; AREA WORKED BY TENANTS; NUMBER OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS; AVERAGE SIZE OF HOLDINGS; NUMBER OF PERSONS DEPENDING EXCLUSIVELY ON AGRICULTURE; NUMBER OF CULTIVATORS; NUMBER TO 500 ACRES OF ARABLE LAND; COMPARISON WITH THE NUMBER IN IRELAND; CONTRAST PRESENTED BY THE AGRICULTURAL ASPECTS OF BELGIUM AND IRELAND—THE PERFECTION OF FLEMISH FARMING, THE GROWTH OF MANY GENERATIONS; THE RESULT OF THE CULTIVATOR FEELING SECURE OF ENJOYING THE FRUITS OF HIS LABOUR—LAND TENURE SYSTEM OF BELGIUM; DURATION OF LEASES; THE FIXED CAPITAL OF FARMING FOUND BY THE LANDLORD; THE TENANT HAS TO FIND ONLY THE WORKING CAPITAL; THE SAME IN RHENISH PRUSSIA—LEASES IN BELGIUM SIMPLE AND INEXPENSIVE—SUBLETTING NEVER ALLOWED IN BELGIUM OR RHENISH PRUSSIA—THE TENANT LEAVING BOUND TO GIVE UP HIS FARM FULLY CROPPED; NOT ALLOWED TO REMOVE HAY, STRAW, OR MANURE; FULLY COMPENSATED; ARBITRATION WHERE NECESSARY; NEVER ANY DISPUTE; NO MATTER WHAT CHANGE OF TENANTS, THE LAND ALWAYS IN A STATE OF THE HIGHEST CULTIVATION.

THE cultivated land of Belgium[1] amounts to 2,604,000 hectares,[2] or 6,428,000 statute acres. Of these, about 3,500,000 acres are in the hands of the proprietors, and about 2,900,000 are worked by tenants.

The number of holdings is 945,000, which gives the average size over the whole country at $2\frac{3}{4}$ hectares, or $6\frac{3}{4}$ acres, to each holding. We have already seen that the average size of the holdings of all kinds in Ireland is 26 acres of arable land, the size of farms being 34 acres.

In Belgium, 2,104,837 persons, being 43 per cent. of the population, depend exclusively on the cultivation of the land. Of these, 1,200,000 are actually cultivators, the remainder

[1] For my information about Belgium I am indebted to two gentlemen, one of them for many years a resident in Belgium, and the other a distinguished writer on statistical subjects, residing in Rhenish Prussia, on the Belgian frontier. I have to thank the latter gentleman, also, for valuable information about the agriculture of Prussia and Saxony, which I avail of further on.

[2] A hectare is equal to 2 acres, 1 rood, 35 perches.

being their not-working children. This indicates 93 cultivators to 500 acres of arable land. Ireland in 1861 had 988,929 cultivators, being 32 to 500 acres of arable land. She has considerably less now. Therefore, in equal areas, Belgium has three times as many cultivators as Ireland; and, further, her cultivators are never idle, while those of Ireland hitherto have been only one-half their time employed.

And what are the results? From one end to another, Belgium is alive with unceasing agricultural industry, and blooms like a garden. Outside of Ulster, Ireland, in many of its rural districts, is a solitude, with its horizon-bounded plains of fertile but undrained land, calling in vain for the improving hand of man, diversified here and there by breadths of tillage, which sometimes show, by the heavy crops of good farming, what a bounteous return a grateful soil would yield to adequate culture.

But we must not overlook the fact, that the conversion of the barren sands of Belgium into, perhaps, the most fertile soil in Europe, and the perfection of farming which in that country gladdens the eye on every side, are the growth of many generations. That growth could never have taken place unless the cultivator had felt perfectly secure of enjoying the fruits of his labour. This leads us to the interesting subject of the tenure of land in Belgium.

More than one-half the land in the country is worked by the proprietors. The remainder, about four-ninths, is let on leases of three, six, nine, eighteen, or twenty-one years, the latter being the maximum. A nine years' lease is the most general.[1] But, in Belgium, the fixed capital of farming is found by the landlord—that is, he erects all the buildings, he drains the farm, and the first cultivation of land, not previously under culture, is effected by him. For all this he charges an additional rent, equal to about four per cent. on his outlay. Thus, the tenant in Belgium has to find only the floating capital to

[1] This is also the case in Rhenish Prussia.

work his farm. It is precisely the same in Rhenish Prussia, and in England and Scotland; whereas in Ireland, as we have seen, *the tenant* has to effect the improvements—that is, he has to provide the fixed and floating capital of farming.

In Belgium the lease is generally made by private contract, seldom by public notary. Its cost is not more than four shillings.[1] The law fixes only a few points, such as keeping the buildings in repair, and this only in the event of there being no arrangement about these points in the private or the notarial contract. It is the same in Rhenish Prussia.

In both countries the power of sub-letting is never given.

The tenant giving up his farm is bound to leave his land fully cropped, just the same as if he were not going out at all, and he is not permitted to remove hay, straw, or manure from the farm. He receives compensation for all from the incoming tenant. For this there are the most minute regulations. Should there be occasion for it, each party interested appoints a valuator, and the two valuators, if necessary, call in an umpire, from whose decision there lies no appeal. There are never any disputes between landlord and tenant, or between outgoing and incoming tenant. The system is such that, no matter what the change of tenants may be, the land is always kept in a state of high cultivation, and the outgoing tenant suffers no wrong, as he is fully compensated for whatever floating capital, in sown crops, hay, straw, and manure, he may leave after him. Fixed capital he has not to find; for we can hardly denominate such the repairs of thatch, glass windows, and fences, and the gearing of pumps, which he is bound to effect during his tenancy.

[1] Elsewhere I allude to the serious evil of the heavy stamp duty on leases in Ireland.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

NUMBER OF OCCUPIERS IN BELGIUM AS COMPARED WITH IRELAND—EXTENSIVE EMPLOYMENT OF HUMAN LABOUR IN BELGIUM—COMPARISON OF THE LARGE FARMING OF NORFOLK AND THE LOTHIANS WITH *LA PETITE CULTURE* OF BELGIUM; THE LATTER BEARS THE PALM—FARMING OF RHENISH PRUSSIA AND SAXONY—SYNOPSIS OF THE AVERAGE SIZE OF HOLDINGS, AND OF THE NUMBER OF CULTIVATORS, IN EQUAL AREAS, IN ENGLAND, IRELAND, BELGIUM, RHENISH PRUSSIA, AND THE KINGDOM OF SAXONY.

THE foregoing facts are well worthy the attention of those who quote the short leases of Belgium against the advocates of security for the tenant in Ireland.

Those, too, who argue that 600,000 occupiers are too many for Ireland, with 15,542,208 acres of arable land, would do well to study the agriculture of Belgium, where 945,000 occupiers have only 6,428,000 acres, or 7 acres each. These small holdings are by far the most productive farms in the world, and maintain in comfort the densest population in Europe. Compared with the large farming of Norfolk and the Lothians, where all the aids of science and appliances of mechanism are called into requisition to supply for the scarcity of human labour, *la petite culture* of Belgium incontestably bears the palm.

There is a peculiarity in the system of Flemish husbandry, which in great measure prevents the rapid increase of the aids which agriculture has drawn to herself in a country such as our own. The peculiarity to which we here allude is the extensive employment of human labour. With a numerous population and a poor soil (*un sol ingrat*), the perfection in culture which has undoubtedly been attained, and the triumphs over natural obstacles which have been won, have been bought only by labour incessant, and the most lavish expenditure of manure. The ingenious methods adopted to increase the fertility of the soil, and its careful repeated workings, and the weedings of the crops, have given the system more of the peculiarities of the garden than of the farm, using the latter term in its English signification. But this garden cultivation is only obtained by garden labour—labour not attainable in a country

like our own. This condition of affairs is also greatly aided by the small extent of the occupations.[1]

Let us now hear the results, which abundantly prove the superiority of this system:—

Nothing, indeed, could show more strikingly the general value of the Flemish system than an inspection of the lands of East and West Flanders this spring (1860). We took a run through the best districts of England and Scotland, and noticed, with regret, the sadly-behind condition of the crops, and the meagre produce of the pastures; we crossed over to Dunkirk, in French Flanders, from thence through the best part of West Flanders, in Belgium, and our eyes were gladdened with fields rich in their crops of green forage, clover in splendid condition, rye and barley of great height, affording rich forage for cattle. And yet the soil is infinitely poorer than ours; the climate marked by many peculiarities of our own—indeed, the severity of the past winter (1859), we believe, and the length of it, has been a matter of as great complaint with the Flemish farmer as with us. Comparing the state of the crops fit for forage with those of England and Scotland, whereof such a perfect famine, almost unexampled in severity, existed, the question was forced upon us, wherein lies the secret of Flemish success?[2] The reply is, 'that in the management of nominally poor and almost sterile soils, in the saving and distribution of manures, and in the judicious succession of crops, which keep the land in a state of perpetual and abundant cropping, in the production of forage plants for the feeding of cattle, we have something yet to learn from the farmers of Flanders.'[3]

But all of this is the result of 'the extensive employment of human labour'—that labour with which the large farming of England dispenses, but which formerly abounded in Ireland, and was not turned to account.

Immediately adjoining Belgium is another country of small holdings and peasant proprietors, which exhibits a high state of agricultural prosperity. This is Rhenish Prussia. The Rhine Provinces of Prussia number a population of 3,346,195.[4] The area of cultivated land is 6,144,718 English acres;[5] which

[1] Burn's 'Agricultural Tour in Belgium,' p. 21. [2] Ibid. p. 168.
[3] Ibid. p. 169. [4] Census of 1864. [5] 2,489,000 hectares.

gives an average of 272 inhabitants to 500 acres of arable land. These provinces are rich in minerals and coal-fields. The number of farms is 822,000, averaging 7½ acres of arable land to each farm. The total numbers living wholly or partially by the cultivation of the soil are 1,472,328, or 44 per cent. of the population. These numbers include the non-working children of the cultivators.

The cultivators are thus classified:—

Proprietors, living solely by agriculture . . .	162,000
„ with other occupations besides farming .	76,000
Tenants, depending solely on agriculture . . .	8,200
„ with other occupations besides farming .	6,900
Wives and children of cultivators aiding in cultivation	250,000
Farm servants male and female	205,000
Total cultivators	708,100

The great majority of the farms are extremely small, more than two-thirds of the total number averaging one acre and a quarter; but, in many instances, five or six of these holdings may belong to one cultivator. This minute parcelling of land is accounted for by the fact, that the French law of the equal division of property between the children on the death of a parent, introduced by Napoleon I., still remains in force in these provinces.

Of holdings of over 420 acres,[1] there are only 1,512.

The kingdom of Saxony is distinguished for the energy and advanced state of its agriculture. Wherever the soil is capable of culture it is worked with the greatest diligence. There is no part of Europe, save Belgium, where land is turned to so much account. The area of arable land is 3,443,905 English acres.[2] The number of farms is 216,000. This makes the average size of farms 16 acres. The numbers subsisting on agriculture are 1,066,378, or 44 per cent. of the population. These numbers include the non-working children of the cultivators.

Saxony abounds in minerals, and is second to no part of the Continent in manufacturing industry.

[1] 170 hectares.

[2] 1,395,000 hectares.

It is deserving of note, that in manufacturing countries generally the holdings are small, agriculture is most flourishing, and the agricultural production is greatest. This is exemplified in Ulster, Belgium, Rhenish Prussia, and Saxony. Hence it is a matter of congratulation that Ireland, as we have seen, is steadily progressing in manufactures; and there is every reason to hope now that, with a prompt and judicious settlement of the land question, she will continue to advance in peaceful industry and prosperity.

The following synopsis will enable us to compare the average size of holdings, and the numbers of cultivators, in equal areas, in the several countries:—

	Area of arable land Statute Acres	Number of Cultivators	Number of Agricultural Holdings	Average size of Holdings Acres	No. of Cultivators to 500 acres of arable land
England & Wales	25,542,427	2,010,454	432,334	59	39
Ireland . .	15,575,270	988,929	597,628	26	32 [1]
Belgium . .	6,428,000	1,200,000	945,000	6⅔	93
Rhenish Prussia .	6,144,718	708,100	822,000	7½	58
Kingdom of Saxony	3,443,905	500,000	216,000	16	73

CHAPTER XXXV.

CONCLUSION THAT IRELAND STANDS FAR BELOW OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE SCALE OF AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS—COMPARISON OF HER ACTUAL ECONOMIC STATUS WITH THOSE OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND—ASSESSED INCOME OF THE THREE COUNTRIES RESPECTIVELY; THE SAME PER HEAD OF THEIR RESPECTIVE POPULATIONS—IRELAND BADLY WORKED FOR FISCAL PURPOSES—THE SETTLEMENT OF THE IRISH QUESTION A MATTER OF DEEP INTEREST TO THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER AND THE TAX-PAYER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM—SHIPPING AND RAILWAYS OF THE THREE KINGDOMS RESPECTIVELY.

FROM what I have thus far written, it must be evident to those of my readers who have never been in Ireland, that, endowed as that country is with great natural advantages, she stands far below other countries in the scale of agricultural progress;

[1] This was in 1861. The number of cultivators in Ireland has considerably diminished since then.

while those who know Ireland, and who have seen the agriculture of Great Britain and the Continent, will be still more forcibly struck with her lamentably backward condition.

The following official figures may be appropriately introduced here, as illustrating her actual economic status compared with England and Scotland. These figures will best indicate the wealth, commerce, general industry, and carrying trade of the three countries. Bearing in mind that Ireland is mainly an agricultural country, allowing to the fullest extent for the superior advantages of Great Britain in coal fields, mines, and manufactures, and having regard to a circumstance affecting one set of figures—namely, that the small farmers of Ireland are below the range of income tax, which the larger and more prosperous occupiers of England are obliged to pay on their profits, we must nevertheless arrive at the conclusion, that the state of Ireland, thus viewed, is far from satisfactory.

In 1861, the assessed income of England and Wales was more than eleven times greater than that of Ireland; and this latter fell considerably short of the assessed income of Scotland.

The assessed income of England, in 1861, was 12*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.*; of Scotland, 8*l.* 3*s.*; and of Ireland only 3*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* per head of their respective populations. This will be seen in the following summary of the amount of property and income charged under each schedule of the Property and Income Tax Acts for the year ending April 5, 1861, and the respective populations the same year:—

	Population 1861	Income 1861 £	Income per head of population £	*s.*	*d.*
England and Wales .	20,066,224	253,647,054	12	12	10
Scotland . . .	3,062,294	24,952,471	8	3	0
Ireland . . .	5,798,233	22,746,342	3	18	6
United Kingdom .	28,926,751	301,345,867	10	8	4

In the next five years the assessed income of England and Wales increased 16¾ per cent.; that of Scotland 17½ per cent.; whilst that of Ireland showed an increase of only 4⅓ per cent., viz.:—

	Assessed income for year ended April 5, 1865 £	Increase since 1861 £	Increase per cent.
England and Wales . .	296,026,220	42,379,166	16¾
Scotland	29,340,024	4,387,553	17½
Ireland	23,729,839	983,497	4⅓
United Kingdom . .	349,096,083	47,750,216	15⅚

It is evident, from these figures, that, for fiscal purposes, Ireland is badly worked, and, in this respect, resembling one of her own neglected farms, yields a much smaller crop of taxes than she ought. Taking population for our basis, and setting against the mines and manufactures of England the circumstance of her population being nearly double that of Ireland to every 500 acres of available land, we find that the income of Ireland ought, in the ratio of England, to have been 73,000,000*l.* instead of 22,746,342*l.* in 1861. This would have effected an important reduction in the rate of taxation of the United Kingdom that year. For instance, the extension of the basis of taxation from 301,000,000*l.* to 352,000,000*l.* would have reduced the then existing rate of income tax from 7*d.* to 6*d.* in the 1*l.* Moreover, our indirect taxation would have yielded much more in consequence of a large increase, certain to take place in Ireland's consumption of tea, sugar, malt, and other articles, which are the media of indirect taxation.

In this point of view, not to speak of the enormous cost of a large garrison and other precautionary measures to maintain the peace of the country, the settlement of the Irish question must be a matter of deep interest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the tax-payers of the United Kingdom.[1]

A no less striking contrast is presented by a comparsion of

[1] To prevent misconception, I deem it right to mention here, that some of the above figures and observations appeared, a few years ago, in one of my letters to the 'Times,' under the signature of 'A Magistrate.' A few more of the figures and facts contained in my letters to that journal and to the 'Daily News,' under the same signature, may be repeated in other parts of this work.

the railway and shipping statistics of Ireland with those of Great Britain, viz. :—

RAILWAYS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, RESPECTIVELY, IN 1867. LENGTH OF LINE OPENED; NUMBER OF PASSENGERS; NUMBERS OF LIVE STOCK; AND TONS OF MERCHANDISE AND MINERALS CONVEYED:—

	Length of Line opened Dec. 31	Total number of passengers conveyed	Merchandise and Minerals	Live Stock		
				Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
	Miles	No.	Tons	No.	No.	No.
England & Wales	10,037	250,683,400	115,186,937	2,310,368	7,171,412	1,389,582
Scotland	2,282	23,101,332	17,368,662	460,842	1,813,594	83,067
Ireland	1,928	14,023,172	2,552,229	698,438	724,121	1,072,634
United Kingdom	14,247	287,807,904	135,107,828	3,469,648	9,709,127	2,545,283

GROSS RECEIPTS OF RAILWAYS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, RESPECTIVELY, IN 1867.

	From Passengers	From Live Stock, Goods, Mails, &c	Total
	£	£	£
England and Wales	13,534,281	19,863,941	33,398,222
Scotland	1,428,037	2,781,121	4,209,158
Ireland	947,387	925,232	1,872,619
United Kingdom	15,909,705	23,570,294	39,479,999

NUMBER OF SAILING AND STEAM VESSELS, WITH THEIR TONNAGE, REGISTERED IN THE PORTS OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, RESPECTIVELY, ON DECEMBER 31, 1867.

	Sailing Vessels		Steam Vessels		Total	
	Vessels	Tonnage	Vessels	Tonnage	Vessels	Tonnage
England	20,038	3,915,552	2,218	688,509	22,256	4,604,061
Scotland	2,942	668,428	501	152,229	3,443	820,657
Ireland	2,017	187,009	202	58,623	2,219	245,632
Total	24,997	4,770,989	2,921	899,361	27,918	5,670,350

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE EXODUS; THE MOST ALARMING SYMPTOM OF THE BACKWARD CONDITION OF IRELAND, AND THE MORE SO THAT IT HAS BEEN AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY—INCREASE IN THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES, AND OF SCOTLAND RESPECTIVELY, 1841–1868; DECREASE IN THAT OF IRELAND IN THE SAME PERIOD; INCREASE IN THE POPULATION OF FRANCE AND OF BELGIUM IN THE SAME PERIOD—RATE PER CENT. OF ALL—THE FORM IN WHICH THE DIMINUTION HAS TAKEN PLACE IN IRELAND—THE EMIGRANTS THE MOST VALUABLE PART OF THE POPULATION; OPINION OF THE EMIGRATION COMMISSIONERS THEREON—VAST EMIGRATION OF 1847; INTERESTING OBSERVATIONS OF THE 'TIMES' THEREON—GREAT INCREASE OF FACILITIES TO EMIGRATE SINCE THEN—NUMBERS OF EMIGRANTS FROM IRELAND IN THE TEN YEARS, JUNE 1841 TO 1851; THE SAME, IN THE EIGHTEEN YEARS FROM MAY 1, 1851, TO JULY 31, 1869—TOTAL DECREASE OF THE POPULATION SINCE 1841—CLASSIFICATION OF THE EMIGRANTS BY THEIR AGES AND SEXES; FOUR-FIFTHS UNDER THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE—BAD EFFECTS OF THIS INCREASING OUTWARD FLOW, WHOLLY IRRESPECTIVE OF THE DIRECT LOSS OF POPULATION.

THE abnormal drain of her population is, perhaps, the most alarming symptom of the backward condition of Ireland; and the more so, that, in the actual state of the country, the Irish exodus, a phenomenon without parallel in modern times, has been an economic necessity.

In the last twenty-seven years—1841 to 1868—whilst the population of England and Wales increased 5,735,229, or 36 per cent., and that of Scotland 567,941, or 22 per cent., that of Ireland *decreased* 2,642,781, or 32 per cent.

The following are the official returns of the population of the three kingdoms in 1841, 1861 and 1868; the figures of the first two periods being those of the Census Commissioners, and of the last the estimates of the Board of Trade, published at the close of 1868:—

	Population 1841	Population 1861	Population 1868	Increase 1841–1868	per cent.
England & Wales	15,914,148	20,066,224	21,649,377	5,735,229	36
Scotland . .	2,620,184	3,062,294	3,188,125	567,941	22
				Decrease 1841–1868	
Ireland . .	8,175,124	5,798,976	5,532,343	2,642,781	32

Here, in a fertile country, endowed with 15,500,000 acres of arable land, and other great natural resources, we have a diminution of over 2,600,000 on a population of 8,000,000, within twenty-two years—1847 to 1868 inclusive—being an annual decline of 118,000 a year for that long period![1] If with a much larger area—25,500,000 acres of arable land, and a population of 16,000,000 in 1846, England had entered on the same downward path, and had declined in the same ratio—viz. by 236,000 inhabitants a year, for twenty-two years, she would now number but 11,000,000 inhabitants, instead of over 21,000,000. But, as we have just seen, England has increased in that ratio, having added more than 5,000,000 to her population in that time. France, in about the same period, has grown from 34,230,178 to 37,330,981, and Belgium from 4,138,382 to 4,894,971, being an increase respectively of nine and eighteen per cent.; and so with other European States.[2]

But in what form has this startling diminution of the population of Ireland taken place? A famine, of which I shall have to speak at some length further on, and an unceasing current, or rather 'torrent, of emigration, to find a name for which we must go back to Bible history, for it can be likened only to the great migration of the Israelites, an *exodus* like that in Moses' time.'[3]

Those who have emigrated were the most valuable part of the population. We learn from the commissioners, that 'the great majority was composed of the young and vigorous'—a vast and annually increasing source of wealth and power, lost for ever to

[1] The population of Ireland went on increasing up to 1846, the first year of the potato blight, when it had probably reached 8,250,000.

[2] For France I give the population in 1841 and 1866 respectively; for Belgium that of 1841 and 1865. The French census is taken every five years. The population by the last, May 15, 1866, was 38,067,094, from which I have deducted 736,113, the population of the annexed provinces of Savoie, Haute Savoie, and Les Alpes Maritimes, as they did not belong to France in 1841, and consequently ought not to be included in calculating the increase.

[3] De Lavergne, 'Rural Economy of Great Britain and Ireland,' p. 378.

the British Empire, and gained by the United States. In the year 1847, 215,444 persons emigrated from Ireland to America and the Colonies, being more than double the number of the emigrants in 1846. In the ten years from June 1841 to March 1851, there emigrated 1,240,737 persons, an alarming percentage on a population of 8,000,000. This extraordinary migration, really commencing in its abnormal proportions in 1847, was commented on as follows by the 'Times' at the close of the following year:—

The flight of a quarter of a million of the inhabitants of these islands to distant quarters of the world in 1847 [1] was one of the most marvellous events in the annals of human migration. The miserable circumstances under which the majority left their homes, the element traversed in quest of a refuge, the thousands of miles over which the dreary pilgrimage was protracted, the fearful casualties of the voyage by shipwreck, by famine, and by fever, constitute a fact which we believe to be entirely without precedent, and compared with which the irruption of the northern races into southern Europe become mere summer excursions; but perhaps the marvel of the event is surpassed this year.

The writer, after dwelling on the fact, that the numbers emigrating in eleven months of that year (1848) were 220,053, thus continues:—

The Irish landlords, notwithstanding the losses they suffer from fugitive tenants, and the observable fact, that the most energetic, skilful, and substantial are the foremost to emigrate, do not yet cry out 'No more!' They still view the departing crowd with undiminished satisfaction. It will not do however to separate the two islands entirely in the reckoning. The social interests of Great Britain and Ireland are a joint account. It is from Ireland that we draw our rough labour. The Celt—and we give him credit for it—is the hewer of wood and the drawer of water to the Saxon. Can we spare that growing mine of untaught, but teachable, toil? The great works of this country depend on cheap labour. The movement now in progress bids fair to affect that condition of the national prosperity. The United States gain what we lose.

[1] The total emigration from the United Kingdom in 1847 was 258,270 persons, of whom 215,444 were from Ireland.

Twenty years have elapsed since these lines were written. The old sailing vessels, with their protracted passages and risk of fever and cholera, and still more deadly risk of moral contagion, have long since disappeared. There is but little danger or suffering to deter the emigrant now: some nine or ten days suffice to cross the great steam-ferry of the Atlantic. Besides, a totally new element has been introduced in the fact, that the Irish emigrant has the greater part of his friends and relations in America before him; he goes, not to cast his lot in a land of strangers, but to rejoin his kindred; his attraction is rather there than here.

Naturally, as the commissioners with truth observe, 'An emigration so vast as that by which Ireland was drained of the most reproductive part of its people, from 1845 to 1851, could not have failed to draw after it a continuing efflux of population.' Thus, the total number of Irish-born persons who emigrated from Ireland, from May 1, 1851, to July 31, 1869, was 1,917,077.[1]

Adding the two periods together, we have the total emigration from Ireland for the twenty-nine years, 1841 to 1869, at no less than 3,157,814, out of a population enumerated at 8,175,124 in 1841.[2] In other words, the stream has flowed at the rate of 108,890 annually for those nine-and-twenty years, and it still flows on, bearing the 'young and vigorous' from our shores.

Of the emigrants from Ireland, we may estimate at least four-fifths as under thirty-five years of age. This will be seen in the following official return of their ages in 1865:—

Ages	Males	Females	Total	Rate per cent.
Under 15 years	8,083	7,516	15,599	15·5
From 15 to 35 years	36,769	29,063	65,832	64·7
Thirty-five years and upwards	5,666	5,698	11,364	11·4
Age not specified	4,696	4,006	8,702	8·4
Total	55,214	46,283	101,497	100·0

[1] 1,008,286 males, and 908,791 females. Return of Registrar-General, of September 1, 1869.

[2] To the total emigration must be added the numbers who died in the

Wholly irrespective of the direct loss of population itself, the effect of this increasing outward flow—thousands departing, thousands preparing to depart, and thousands contemplating departure at some time not yet decided—must be most injurious to a country. A people thus unfixed, unrooted from the soil, cannot properly settle down to any industry.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE TO THE FOREGOING FACTS—THE REQUISITES OF PRODUCTION; LAND, LABOUR, AND CAPITAL—LABOUR SO MUCH THE PRINCIPAL AS TO BE NEARLY THE SOLE ELEMENT OF THE COST OF PRODUCTION—IN FEW PARTS OF THE WORLD THE SUPPLY OF LABOUR MORE ABUNDANT THAN IT HAS BEEN IN IRELAND; NOWHERE LESS TURNED TO ACCOUNT—ALLEGED WANT OF CAPITAL IN IRELAND—CAPITAL DEFINED; IS NEVER ALLOWED TO REMAIN IDLE; IS CONSTANTLY BEING CONSUMED AND REPRODUCED.

It will be necessary now to apply to the foregoing facts the principles of economic science, which I shall endeavour to do in a simple popular form, in order that we may clearly understand the nature and operation of the immediate causes of the evils of Ireland.

When God ordained that man should eat bread in the sweat of his brow,[1] He supplied him abundantly with the necessary means and appliances—that is, He endowed him with what, in the language of political economy, are styled the requisites of production.

Primarily the requisites of production are two:—Labour and appropriate natural objects, the latter commonly called Land; inasmuch as all the raw material turned to account by man's

famine years, 1847–8. But then, on the other hand, the excess of births over deaths in the twenty-nine years must be deducted. These two items can only be approximated. The actual diminution of the population in the twenty-nine years is 2,642,781.

[1] Genesis, iii. 19.

industry is furnished by the land, either on its surface or beneath its surface; that is, by land in its popular acceptation, and mines, quarries, and fisheries.

As society emerges from the savage state, a third requisite comes into operation; and this is Capital, or a stock of the accumulated products of labour, used for the purposes of production; without which, beyond the mere rude exertions of savage life, to provide for the necessities of the hour, no productive operation can be carried on.

It is evident that, of the three requisites, labour contributes by far the most largely to production. Hence it follows that the wages of labour make up nearly the whole cost of all articles produced for man's use and convenience.

If, for instance, we view some heaps of ore, and consider the labour expended on extracting them from the mine, and follow them through the several processes of smelting, casting, tempering, polishing, adjusting, and so on, until the rude masses become an axe, a knife, a plough, a printing press, a mariner's compass, a watch, a sewing machine, an iron steam ship or a locomotive engine; or, if we take up a loaf of bread, and reflect upon the labour of the ploughman, the sower, the reaper, the miller, and the baker, not to speak of the intermediate labour of those who gather, thresh, and prepare the grain, and bring it to market; or if we take up a coat, and consider the labour of the shepherd, the shearer, the woolcomber, the indigo planter, the dyer, and the tailor, without even dwelling on the several intermediate operations in manufacturing a piece of cloth, we must see how largely labour enters into the production of these several articles. Yet we see not all: for we must go farther, and estimate the labour bestowed by those who provide food, fuel, clothing, houses, workshops, tools, implements, machinery, and all other requisites (all, so much capital, or the accumulated products of previous labour), for the miner, the workers in metal, the husbandman, the miller, the baker, the weaver, the dyer, and the tailor; and further, we must take into account the

labour of the engineers, canal and road makers, railway navvies, waggon, truck, and engine makers, shipbuilders, traders, and others, all co-operating in and facilitating these several industrial operations. When we do this, we cannot but conclude, with Mr. Mill, that 'Labour is so much the principal as to be nearly the sole element of the cost of production.'[1]

Now, in few parts of the world has the supply of labour been more abundant than in Ireland;[2] in no civilized country has labour been less turned to account. We have seen that Ireland also possesses an abundant supply of appropriate natural objects for production.

But we are told that there is a want of capital in Ireland; that doubtless Ireland has land and labour, but she has not capital. We frequently hear Irish aspirations after English capital; and loud are the popular rejoicings when an Englishman settles in Ireland, with a few thousands of pounds, to establish some branch of industry; and these rejoicings are not so much for the example he sets, as for the capital he brings with him. We find, too, the English press occasionally warning the people of Ireland not to frighten away, by their turbulence, English capital, which, if not so deterred, would be devoted to the development of the resources of Ireland, instead of being sent for employment to the antipodes—a wholesome warning, no doubt, but one which implies that Ireland must look outside herself for a large proportion of the capital necessary to develop her resources. All this renders it the more necessary that we should have clear and exact ideas of what capital really is, how it is created, how kept in existence, what its functions are, and what are the great fundamental principles respecting capital, which have been established by political economy.

First, let us see what capital really is. Let us imagine twenty

[1] 'Principles of Political Economy,' vol. i. p. 552.

[2] It is hardly necessary to say here, I mean rude or unskilled labour.

men, in a new country, engaged in growing wheat for their own support. Whilst so engaged, they require to be fed, clothed, and lodged. For supposing that, without the necessaries of life, they still confined themselves to clearing the ground, ploughing, harrowing, sowing, and so forth, they should all immediately perish. But, of course, rather than perish, they would abandon the work, and employ their time in searching for roots, berries, and other such precarious sustenance to preserve their lives. Now, it is capital, and capital alone, that can supply these men with food, clothing, and lodging, and provide them seeds, manures, implements, and other necessaries, until their crop is ripe, and available for use as food for themselves and for others who want food, and with whom they can exchange a portion of it for clothing, implements, and other articles which they require.

Capital, therefore, may be defined as past labour laid by, to aid future; or, in other words, as a stock of the products of previous labour, employed as an instrument of production. A savage who kills just enough of game to supply himself with food does not possess capital; but if, besides the labour of supplying himself with food, he further labours in making a weapon by which he is enabled to kill the same quantity of game in a shorter time, he possesses capital in that weapon, as an instrument facilitating production. His labour then begins to be combined with capital. If, in addition, he collects, prepares, and preserves the skins and plumage of the animals he kills, he begins to accumulate capital. In exchange for these, he may receive from traders a knife, a hatchet, or a gun and ammunition, which articles, so much capital in themselves, still further facilitate his accumulation of capital.

The savage, with his weapon, exemplifies the commencement of accumulation, the foundation of capital in all countries. From such weak and scanty beginnings has grown the capital of Great Britain and other civilized nations. In the first pages of their history, we may trace the slow accumulations of their

early inhabitants, the origin and extension of barter, the invention of money as a circulating medium, the introduction of husbandry and domestic manufactures, and the infancy of commerce. What a contrast to that which we behold in these our days! Where once stood a few clusters of rude huts on the banks of the Thames and the Seine we now have our modern London and Paris; the hide-covered, wicker barques of Hengist and Horsa have been replaced by those majestic navies that ride triumphant in every sea; and the rude barter in skins and feathers has been gradually developed into that vast complex commercial system which, created and upheld by capital, is the most powerful engine of civilization, uniting man in co-operative industry with his brother-man in all parts of the earth.

Individual accumulations, in the aggregate, form a nation's capital. Once a commencement is made, each generation adds its savings, and transmits the fund thus increased to the next; and thus a nation's capital grows.

But it must not be lost sight of that this fund is never allowed to lie idle, but that it is being constantly consumed and constantly reproduced, with an increase. Otherwise it would rapidly diminish, and in a short time be annihilated. 'The greater part in value of the wealth now existing in England,' says Mr. Mill, 'has been produced by human hands within the last twelve months. A very small proportion indeed of that large aggregate was in existence ten years ago; of the present productive capital of the country, scarcely any part, except farm-houses and factories, and a few ships and machines; and even these would not in most cases have survived so long, if fresh labour had not been employed within that period in putting them into repair. The land subsists, and the land is almost the only thing that subsists. Everything which is produced perishes, and most things very quickly. Most kinds of capital are not fitted by their nature to be long preserved.'[1] We

[1] J. S. Mill, 'Principles of Political Economy,' vol. i. p. 92.

have already seen that almost every product is the result of labour; that, in fact, labour is so much the principal as to be nearly the sole element of the cost of production. Hence it is obvious that the chief function of capital, or past labour saved, is to furnish the wages of present labour—that is, to provide labourers with food, clothing, and lodging, whilst they are engaged in their work. Therefore the great bulk of the capital of the world is composed of the requisites of labourers, articles most perishable in their nature, being constantly consumed and constantly reproduced; and therefore—and to bear this in mind is of much importance to the argument further on—'capital is kept in existence from age to age, not by preservation, but by perpetual reproduction.'[1]

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CAPITAL OF TWO KINDS, FIXED AND FLOATING; FIXED CAPITAL DEFINED; FLOATING CAPITAL DEFINED—THE NET PRODUCE OF A COUNTRY; THE ONLY FUND FROM WHICH AN ADDITION CAN BE MADE TO CAPITAL; A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF THIS FUND CONSUMED BY THE UNPRODUCTIVE CLASSES; A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF IT WASTED BY THE PRODUCTIVE CLASSES; A GREAT DEAL OF IT IS SAVED, AND BECOMES CAPITAL—THE AGGREGATE VALUE OF ARTICLES CONSUMED BY THE 'UPPER TEN THOUSAND' SMALL COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE FOOD AND OTHER NECESSARIES OF THE TOILING MILLIONS—WHAT CONSTITUTES THE WHOLE INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY—LABOURERS A WIDELY COMPREHENSIVE CLASS—WHO THE UNPRODUCTIVE CLASSES; LARGELY SWELLED BY THE UNEMPLOYED POOR; FOR MANY GENERATIONS A VERY NUMEROUS CLASS IN IRELAND; THE IMPROVEMENT OF THEIR CONDITION MIGHT USEFULLY HAVE ENGAGED THE ATTENTION OF BRITISH STATESMEN; AND THEIR EMPLOYMENT THAT OF THE LANDLORDS OF IRELAND.

CAPITAL is of two kinds, fixed and floating. Our fixed capital is that which we retain in our own hands, and use as an instrument of production, and on which we receive a certain profit or interest only. This profit or interest is a portion of the price

[1] J. S. Mill, 'Principles of Political Economy,' vol. i. p. 92.

paid by the community for the finished product, of which our fixed capital has facilitated the production. For instance, the capital expended in the erection of a mill or factory, or in farm buildings, drainage, or other permanent improvement of land, is fixed capital. Our floating capital is that which we part with, after a single use, and which yields us no profit until we part with it, and for the whole of which, as it leaves our hands, we are paid by the community.

Let us exemplify this. A manufacturer erects a cotton mill at a cost of 100,000*l.* for building and machinery. This is so much fixed capital. Then he employs 150,000*l.* more in his manufacture, buying the raw material, paying for labour, and defraying all other manufacturing expenses. This is so much floating capital, which he circulates as quickly as he can, with a view to profit. For example, he is constantly manufacturing cotton pieces, and exchanging them for money, which money repays him what he has expended in wages and materials, and moreover leaves him a surplus. This surplus constitutes his income. A portion of it may be regarded as his wages for superintendence and other labour. The remainder is his profit, or interest on his 250,000*l.* of fixed and floating capital.

Of his profit, let us suppose, he expends one portion in ornamental gardening, or in keeping a pack of hounds. This portion is unproductively consumed, that is, it is consumed without being reproduced. It is so much lost to the community. He expends another portion in improving his machinery: this second portion thus becomes fixed capital. He invests a third portion in railway shares; this also becomes fixed capital. He lays out the remainder, along with the original 150,000*l.*, in labour and materials; this portion he adds to his floating capital.

A country does not immediately consume its fixed capital. It consumes it, nevertheless; but gradually. It therefore has not to replace it, except gradually, as, for example, in the case of machinery worn out, or ships wrecked, or factories dilapi-

dated; but it has to pay a certain interest upon it. Thus, a portion of the freight of merchandise on ships, of the fares of goods and passengers on railways, and of the price paid the producer, over and above the cost of materials and labour, for his product, may be regarded as so much interest on fixed capital paid by the community.

On the other hand, as we have already seen, the entire of the floating capital of a country is being constantly consumed, and paid for by the community, and constantly reproduced with an increase. This increase is what is called the net produce of the country. It includes the landlord's rent, the profit of the capitalist, and that portion of the labourer's wages, over what is requisite to supply him and his family with the necessaries of life. It is the only fund from which saving can be effected—the only fund from which an addition can be made to capital.

Of this fund a considerable portion is consumed by the unproductive classes. In fact, it is on it altogether they depend for subsistence. A considerable portion is also consumed by the productive classes in individual enjoyment. Doubtless, to some extent, in this latter case, it is most usefully so consumed by them; inasmuch as they require a certain amount of individual enjoyment, in addition to the bare necessaries of life, to promote the bodily and mental health necessary for their employments. However, they consume, or rather waste in excess, a great deal more than this. What is so wasted is so much lost to the community. But, on the other hand, a great deal of this fund is saved to be productively employed; that is, it becomes capital. In the last case it is no less consumed than in the first and second, but with this difference, that it is reproduced with an increase, as we have already seen.

Thus, to go back to my former illustration, let us suppose that the savage, instead of accumulating labour, in collecting, preparing, and preserving furs and feathers to sell to traders, uses his surplus labour in feeding another savage, whom he employs for the sole purpose of dancing and singing to amuse

him. In this case the produce of his surplus labour is annihilated. It is consumed without being reproduced. It is not added to the saved labour, or capital, which he possesses in his weapon. Whereas, were he to set the other man to dig, hoe, and otherwise prepare the ground, and sow therein a crop of rice or maize, the crop, when grown, would replace what the man consumed while at work, and the seed, and what he himself consumed while supporting him, and making rude implements for him, and would yield an increase moreover.

It may be asked here—are not lace, opera-glasses, jewellery, yachts, carriages, and other articles of luxury or *virtù* (exclusively consumed by the unproductive classes) a portion of the general wealth? Most assuredly they are, not only wealth, but capital, while in the hands of those who manufacture and sell them. When sold to the unproductive classes, they are also wealth until they are consumed by those classes. But, once consumed, luxuries and necessaries alike, they are so much lost to the community—that is, they are consumed without being reproduced—and in this respect they differ from the necessaries of productive labourers, who reproduce by their labour all that they consume, with an increase superadded.

But, after all, the aggregate value of articles thus consumed by 'the upper ten thousand' is but small, compared with that of the food and other necessaries of the toiling millions. The unproductive classes, theoretically speaking—that is, those who, without personal exertion, live on the interest of their own or their forefathers' accumulations—are numerically very small, as may be seen by the census returns. Economists tell us that the landowner, the capitalist, and the labourer constitute the whole industrial community. But the last is a widely comprehensive class. It embraces ministers of religion, legislators, administrators of the law, preservers of the public peace, teachers, inventors, and others who, labouring in the sweat of their brow or brain, minister to and co-operate in production. Nor must we overlook the landowner, who, even though with

little personal exertion, sees that his estate is properly ordered; nor the retired trader, or manufacturer, who judiciously administers his capital. When we substract all such as these, we shall have the numbers of the unproductive classes greatly reduced, being theoretically narrowed to those who, living in luxurious ease, strictly speaking, contribute little or nothing to the general industrial stock. But, unfortunately, in the imperfect state of human society, our theory is set aside by the irresistible logic of facts, and the numbers are swelled to vast proportions by the unemployed, or only partially employed, poor—those who have no stock or reserve fund on which to subsist, and who are thrown for their support on the labour of others, although they all ought to be, as they desire to be, self-supporting, productive labourers.

These constitute the great majority of the unproductive classes. They are to be found in all populous countries. But in no other part of the civilized world is to be met with anything approaching the extent or degree of misery which, for many generations, they have presented in Ireland. In this country there ever were, until famine and emigration thinned their ranks, by many hundreds of thousands, vast numbers of men, women, boys, and girls willing to work, but unable to obtain employment; some immured in the workhouses; the far greater number pining in the lanes and alleys of the cities, and vegetating in the country towns; some of them obtruding themselves on the tourist in the fairest spots of Irish scenery—all pale, ragged, and famine-stricken—a blot on our boasted modern civilization. Most usefully might the improvement of their condition have engaged the attention of our wisest statesmen, who in this respect have much to learn from the example set by the rulers of France, Prussia, and other continental states. Well, too, if it were only for their own sakes, might the landlords of Ireland have taken thought to make many of them productive labourers, not only supporting themselves instead of being burdens on the poor-rates, which press so

heavily on the land, but, in the net produce, increasing that fund which yields the landlord his rent and the capitalist his profit, and from which alone an addition can be made to the common stock for defraying the wages of future labour.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

RECAPITULATION—THE CAPITAL OF A COUNTRY MUST, IN THE AGGREGATE, COME FROM THE LABOUR OF THAT COUNTRY; ANOTHER COUNTRY WON'T SUPPLY IT; THE GREATER THE INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY AND PRODUCTIVE ENERGY, THE GREATER THE CAPITAL CREATED WITHIN THE COUNTRY—WOULD £10,000,000 DIVIDED BY ENGLAND AMONG THE AGRICULTURAL OCCUPIERS OF IRELAND MAKE THEM A PERMANENTLY RICHER CLASS, THE PREDIAL ARRANGEMENTS OF THE COUNTRY REMAINING UNCHANGED?—DEPOSITS OF THE FARMERS OF IRELAND IN THE IRISH BANKS—THESE INDICATE THAT WANT OF CAPITAL IS NOT THE CAUSE OF THE NEGLECT OF THE AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT OF IRELAND—GREAT PROFITS OF THE IRISH BANKS, FROM THE FARMERS' DEPOSITS AT A LOW RATE OF INTEREST.

To recapitulate: it is clear that, primarily, labour is the source of all wealth. To exist, and continue his race, man must labour. Such is the ordinance of God. The fish that swarm our rivers and seas; the flocks and herds, and other living things, created to increase and multiply for the use of man; the minerals enclosed in the bowels of the earth; the teeming vegetation of the earth's surface, derive all their value from labour. By labour they are appropriated and rendered available for man's use. By labour they become wealth.

But we have seen that, as man emerges from the savage state, capital is required, in combination with labour, for the purposes of production. Now, capital is but another phase of labour. It is labour past, laid by, or saved, to aid future labour. The capital, or saved labour, of any country must, in the aggregate, come from the labour of that country. It cannot come from any other source. Another country will not supply it. Capital is not parted with unless in exchange for an equivalent.

The more the labour of a country is productively employed, the larger will be the amount of its saved labour. The laws of political economy are as invariable as the law of gravitation. The greater the activity of industry—the energy of production—that process of perpetual consumption and reproduction, which I have described and illustrated again and again, at the risk of being tedious, but which is a matter that cannot be too emphatically urged or too forcibly impressed in treating of the economic condition of Ireland—the greater that industrial activity and productive energy, the greater will be the amount of labour saved, of capital created, within the country.

Now, with a view to the further illustration of this truth, let us suppose Ireland endowed with a sudden great accession of wealth. Let us suppose that England poured 10,000,000*l.* into this country, to be divided among the agricultural occupiers; and let us inquire, Would they, in such a case, become a permanently richer class? would their prosperity permanently increase to any appreciable extent, the predial arrangements of the country remaining unchanged? The answer is plainly—No. There would be a temporary apparent prosperity; there would for some time be an increase of individual enjoyment among them; there would doubtless, too, in some instances, be an increase of productive industry: but, on the whole—in the aggregate, they would in a short time be pretty much in the same state economically as they were before.

To many this will appear a paradox. They will exclaim, 'What! would not 10,000,000*l.* of additional capital make Ireland more wealthy, more prosperous? Is not capital the limit of industry? Is it not the only fund which supplies the pre-requisites of production? If you would employ labour productively, must you not provide the raw material, and feed, and clothe, and lodge your workmen and their families until your product is finished? What but capital can enable you to do this?' All very true. But let me ask in return, Is it so certain that this sum of 10,000,000*l.* would be employed by

Ireland as capital? Would it be productively consumed by her —that is, consumed and reproduced with an increase? Could it be so employed in presence of the existing predial arrangements of the country? That it would not, and could not, we may clearly infer from the fact that Ireland possesses a larger sum, which she does not productively employ, and for which, therefore, she has for years been content to receive interest at from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., and the greater part of which she has permitted to be sent to England, to be productively employed there.

This will be seen in the following table,[1] showing the aggregate amount of the private balances in the Bank of Ireland, and of the deposits in the several joint-stock banks in Ireland, at the end of each year from 1840 to 1868, inclusive:—

Year	Total Amount £		Year	Total Amount £	
1840	5,567,851		1855	12,285,822	
1841	6,022,573		1856	13,753,149	
1842	6,416,795		1857	13,113,136	
1843	6,965,681		1858	15,131,252	
1844	7,601,421		1859	16,042,140	
1845	8,031,044		1860	15,609,237	
1846	8,442,133		1861	15,005,065	Decrease caused by three successive bad harvests in 1860, 1861 & 1862
1847	6,493,124	Decrease caused by the potato failure & famine	1862	14,388,725	
1848	7,071,122		1863	12,996,731	
1849	7,469,675		1864	14,422,176	
1850	8,268,838		1865	17,050,552	Good harvests with high prices of all agricultural produce
1851	8,263,091		1866	18,975,046	
1852	10,773,324		1867	19,211,342	
1853	10,915,022		1868	18,437,128	
1854	11,665,739				

It will be seen that the average amount of these deposits for the last ten years is over 16,000,000*l.* The general rate of interest allowed depositors is a fraction under 2 per cent. per

[1] Compiled from confidential returns, made by the Bank directors, at the request of the Lord-Lieutenant in 1863, and since continued. The Irish Joint-Stock Banks are bound to make a public return of their issues, but are not bound to publish the amount of their deposits. The directors consented to have the aggregate amount of deposits published.—'Supposed progressive Decline of Irish Prosperity,' p. 50. By William Neilson Hancock, LL.D. Dublin, 1863.

annum.[1] These facts are in themselves conclusive proofs that there is but little employment for capital in Ireland. We are informed 'that the farmers are understood to be the most numerous class depositing.'[2] A bank manager in Ireland, whose attention has been directed to the subject, has assured me that nine-tenths of the amount of these deposits belong to the farming classes. The commercial classes, it needs scarcely be observed, keep the balances of their banking accounts—that is, their unemployed capital—as low as possible; and certainly they do not lend their money at under 2 per cent. Therefore, very little of the above sum can belong to them. Well, indeed, may we agree with Dr. Hancock that 'these deposits indicate that any neglect in executing the more lasting agricultural improvements cannot arise from a general want of capital amongst those connected with land in Ireland; and it is a matter of grave inquiry why the farmers of Ireland should lend such large sums to the different banks, at an average of 2 per cent., to be employed in the large towns, and much of it in London, instead of expending it in agricultural improvements in Ireland.'[3]

It is well known that for many years certain Irish banks have been paying their shareholders, in dividends and bonuses, 20 per cent. per annum on a paid-up capital of 600,000*l.* or 800,000*l.*[4] This they were enabled to do by the large amount of deposits, in some instances 4,000,000*l.*, which they each held at under 2 per cent., and on which they received interest at a rate varying from 4 to 10 per cent. A very large proportion of these deposits is lent in London; for money, like any other commodity, will always find its way to the market in which it is most in demand. Then there are several Irish merchants

[1] In one or two exceptional years, when the London rate was very high, the Irish banks, competing for deposits, have allowed 3, 4, and even 5 per cent., but for comparatively limited periods. The present rate of interest on deposits is 1½ per cent.

[2] 'Supposed progressive Decline of Irish Prosperity,' p. 50. [3] Ibid. p. 52.

[4] One of these banks has within a few years nearly doubled its capital.

and traders, who are induced by the high rate of interest allowed to let balances lie on call in the London joint-stock banks. The aggregate of these balances is considerable. Moreover, it is notorious that the surplus or savings of absentee rentals, as well as of the rentals of the great London companies drawn from the north of Ireland, are not employed as capital in Ireland; inasmuch as they can be much more profitably invested elsewhere.

Hence we may infer, that whatever portion would be saved of this sum of 10,000,000*l.* would not to any appreciable extent be employed as capital in Ireland, but would be sent back to England, where, beyond all doubt, in the present social and economic condition of Ireland, it could be much more profitably employed. In other words, it would be an instrument of production, used in England, its owners in Ireland receiving a very low rate of interest, or payment for its use, from English capitalists.

CHAPTER XL.

THE INHABITANTS OF A COUNTRY MAY POSSESS A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF WEALTH, NOT CAPITAL TO THE COUNTRY; CASE IN POINT; BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF A NINETY-NINE YEARS' LEASE—MOUNTAIN IMPROVEMENT, OR THE CREATION OF CAPITAL BY LABOUR, IN 1766; THE SAME TRACT IN 1869—ANOTHER INSTANCE IN 1766; ANOTHER, 1837–65—MASTER FITZ GIBBON ON THE NECESSITY OF PROTECTING, BY LEGISLATION, THE RIGHT OF THE TENANT TO HIS LABOUR AND CAPITAL THUS INVESTED—MONEY HOARDED BY TENANTS; TENANTS PURCHASERS OF PROPERTY, SOLD IN SMALL LOTS, IN THE INCUMBERED ESTATES COURT.

Obviously the inhabitants of a country may possess a considerable amount of wealth which is not capital to the country. For it is not wealth alone, but wealth productively employed, that constitutes capital. The following case in point lately came under my notice. A farm of 190 statute acres was to let, in one of the southern counties of Ireland. It was thoroughly improved and in good heart, with house, offices, fencing and drain-

ing, all completed by the landlord, at a cost of close on 2,000*l.* There were six or seven applicants for this farm. One of them was an ordinary frieze-coated farmer, who had, up to that time, held land on adjoining estates, as tenant from year to year, without laying out one shilling on improvements. The landlord, a retired merchant, who had purchased the property under the Incumbered Estates Court, and whose ideas of the management of land were an exception to the general rule, was willing to give a lease of ninety-nine years. He selected this man, who paid down a fine of 800*l.*, and showed his landlord 800*l.* more, as his floating capital to work the farm. The whole 1,600*l.* were in gold.[1] Now, as long as this sum of 1,600*l.* was in the farmer's strong box it was not capital to him, or to the country. The same may be said of the 16,000,000*l.* deposited in the Irish banks at 1½ per cent. by the farmers of Ireland. The greater part of this money is capital to England—not to Ireland. The Irish farmers, as a class, unlike the farmers of all other countries, do not make the land their bank, nor can they do so in the existing state of things. Surely there must be something very wrong in the condition of a country where land, labour, and capital abundantly exist, and yet cannot be brought together.

How different is it in those rarely exceptional cases, where the bar to productive industry is removed! In such cases, by a law of mutual attraction, land, labour, and capital are immediately brought into combination, and that, too, with the happiest results.

An apt illustration of this is given by Arthur Young,[2] in the following interesting account of mountain improvement carried out on the estate of Sir William Osborne, in the county of Tipperary, about a century ago:—

Twelve years ago, he met a hearty-looking fellow of forty, followed by a wife and six children in rags, who begged. Sir William ques-

[1] This I know as a positive fact. It is very rarely, however, that the Irish farmers keep gold. What they generally hold are deposit receipts of the several banks.

[2] 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 170.

tioned him upon the scandal of a man in full health and vigour supporting himself in such a manner. The man said he could get no work. '*Come along with me; I will show you a spot of land upon which I will build a cabin for you, and, if you like it, you shall fix there.*' The fellow followed Sir William, who was as good as his word. He built him a cabin, gave him five acres of a heathy mountain, lent him four pounds to stock with, and gave him, when he prepared his ground, as much lime as he could come for. The fellow flourished; he went on gradually, repaid the four pounds, and presently became a happy little cottar. He has at present twelve acres under cultivation, and a stock in trade worth at least 80*l.* His name is John Conory.

The success which attended this man, in two or three years, brought others, who applied for land, and Sir William gave them as they applied. The mountain was under lease to a tenant who valued it so little, that upon being reproached with not cultivating or doing something with it, he assured Sir William that it was utterly impracticable to do anything with it, and offered it to him without any deduction of rent. Upon this mountain he fixed them; gave them terms as they came, determinable with the lease of the farm, so that every one that came in succession had shorter and shorter tenures, yet are they so desirous of settling that they come at present, though only two years remain for a term.

In this manner Sir William has fixed twenty-two families, who are all upon the improving hand, the meanest growing richer, and find themselves so well off, that no consideration will induce them to work for others, not even in harvest; their industry has no bounds, nor is the day long enough for the revolution of their incessant labour. Some of them bring turf to Clonmel, and Sir William has seen Conory returning loaded with soap ashes.

He found it difficult to persuade them to make a road to their village, but when they had once done it, he found none in getting cross roads to it, they found such benefit in the first. Sir William has continued to give them whatever lime they come for; and they have desired 1,000 barrels among them for the year 1766, which their landlord has accordingly contracted for with his lime burner at 11*d.* a barrel. Their houses have all been built at his expense and done, by contract, at six pounds each, after which they raise what little offices they want for themselves.

Their cattle are feeding on the mountain by day, but of nights they house them in little miserable stables. All their children are

employed regularly in their husbandry, picking stones, weeding, &c.; which shows their industry strongly, for in general they are idle about all the country. The women spin.

Too much cannot be said in praise of this undertaking. It shows, that a reflecting, penetrating landlord can scarcely move without the power of creating opportunities to do himself and his country service. It shows that the villainy of the greatest miscreants is all situation and circumstance: EMPLOY, don't *hang* them. Let it not be in the slavery of the cottar system, in which industry never meets its reward, but, by giving property, teach the value of it: by giving them the fruit of their labour, teach them to be laborious. All this Sir William Osborne has done, and done it with effect, and there probably is not an honester set of families in the county than those he has formed from the refuse of the whiteboys.

The following interesting account of the great-grandchildren of these men is given by the 'Times' commissioner, writing from Clonmel, September 1, 1869:—

I took care to visit a tract in this neighbourhood which I expected to find especially interesting. Arthur Young tells us how in his day Sir William Osborne, of Newtownanner, encouraged a colony of cottiers to settle along the slopes that lead to the Commeraghs, and how they had reclaimed this barren wild with extraordinary energy and success. The great-grandchildren of these very men now spread in villages along the range for miles, and, though reduced in numbers since 1846, they still form a considerable population. The continual labour of these sons of the soil has carried cultivation high up the mountains, has fenced thousands of acres and made them fruitful, has rescued to the uses of man what had been the unprofitable domain of nature. These people do not pay a high rent; they are, for the most part, under good landlords; but I was sorry to find this remarkable and most honourable creation of industry was generally unprotected by a certain tenure. The tenants, with hardly a single exception, declared they would be happy to obtain leases, which, as they said truly, would 'secure them their own, and stir them up to renewed efforts.'

In this case alone, traced through four generations of improving tenants, who have rescued thousands of acres from unprofitable sterility, and made them bloom with fruitfulness for the uses of man, we have an irresistible argument for legis-

lative interference to protect the industry of the Irish farmer, and thus largely promote the prosperity and happiness of the whole community.

Let us take another pleasing instance from Arthur Young of the happy results of this wise and humane policy on the part of a few Irish landlords—a policy so rarely adopted at the time, that he censures, in no measured terms, 'the lazy, trifling, inattentive, negligent, slobbering, profligate owners of Irish mountains, who leave them as they received them from the hands of their ancestors, in the possession of grouse and foxes.'[1]

Mr. Bolton (of Ballycanvan, County Waterford) cannot be too much commended for the humane attention with which he encourages his poor cottar tenantry; he gives them all leases, whatever their religion, of twenty-one or thirty-one years, or lives: even the occupier of two acres has a lease. It is inconceivable what an effect this has had; this is the way to give the Catholics right ideas. I was for three weeks a witness of a most spirited industry among them; every scrap of rough rocky land, not before improved, they were at work upon, and overcoming such difficulties as are rarely to be found on common wastes: many spots, not worth 5*s.* an acre, they were reclaiming to be well worth 25*s.* and 30*s.* The improvement of this part of Mr. Bolton's estate may be guessed at when I mention, that on only 500 acres of it, there have been built in six years forty new houses, many of them handsome ones of stone and slate. For cabins, barns, &c., he gives timber for the roofs.

To precisely the same effect is the following extract from the evidence of the Right Reverend Dr. Keane, before the Tenure and Improvement of Land in Ireland Committee, a century later:—[2]

There are three or four tenants on the skirt of what may be called a barren mountain. It is the slope of a hill facing the south, and the whole mountain grows nothing but heath and coarse grass. In 1837 these tenants took about twenty acres each of this mountain from the middleman, who had a long lease, and who was enabled to give them leases. I will now take the case of one of these tenants as an illustra-

[1] 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 174.

[2] In May 1865.

tion of all. The first two years he had to pay no rent at all. There was not a road within a mile of him. He had to bring lime from a distance of ten or twelve miles, and had then to take it on his own back and the backs of his children for the remainder of the distance. He laboured at his work, and in the course of twenty-one years, to my certain knowledge, that man was able to rear his family in comfort and to convert every spot of those twenty acres into a cultivable condition. They now grow crops and are an excellent farm.

But, unfortunately, there exists a bar to such improvements being general, in the fact that landlords, as a rule, are unwilling to grant adequate leases for the purpose. Nevertheless the improvements are sometimes entered on, even without the security of a lease; but they stop short, very far short indeed, of the point to which they would be carried if the tenant felt that he was working for himself; if, in fact, he was as secure of enjoying the fruits of his labour as the peasant of France, Belgium, and other continental countries. For example:—

There are also regions of bog, which have been for centuries, and still are, dismal wastes, but capable of abundantly productive cultivation. In these bogs many hovels are to be seen, surrounded by patches which the squalid inhabitants of these hovels have, by the unaided labour of their hands, reclaimed, and for which they now pay rent, and raise scanty crops barely sufficient to keep them and their children alive. In most instances, these patches were, by sufferance, occupied rent free, for six or seven years, until the poor tenant, by expending his labour upon them, enabled the landlord, at the end of the limited term, to fix a rent upon them, which is invariably done. I ask especial attention to this practice, which is of frequent occurrence, and which, I think, no person will be bold enough to deny.

Extensive tracts of what, in Ireland, is called mountain common have for centuries been, and still are used as poor and scanty pasture for stunted cattle and sheep, the property of tenants who hold the arable and rent-paying portions of the landlord's estate. A right of common of very small value, and often the subject of rancorous disputes, is given, proportionate to the extent of the rented land held by each tenant. In these mountain districts may be seen many rude enclosures of portions of the common, which have been reclaimed and cultivated, and converted into farms with a wretched class of cabins upon them, in which the poor people live who were allowed to enclose

and reclaim a part of the barren mountain, exonerated from rent for a few years, until the land, by their labour, became able to produce the stunted crops which may now be seen upon it. Here is another instance in which sterile land has been made comparatively fertile by the unaided toil and labour of the poorest class of tenants.

The people who have thus imperfectly reclaimed bog and mountain seldom hold by lease. When they come under rent, they do so, as tenants from year to year, liable to be turned out on a six-months' notice to quit.

As soon as the poor tenant has brought his farm to that degree of fertility which enables him to pay a rent and live, all further improvement is studiously avoided, as a thing which the tenant believes will only increase his labour and produce a larger rent for the sole benefit of the landlord, whom he regards as a vigilant spy upon every symptom of ability to pay more rent. The tenant dreads an increase of rent, even though it should be only half the increased value of the land. The value of further improvement, he thinks, will be a subject of dispute between him and his landlord, and may entice his neighbours to outbid him. He therefore avoids every exhibition of prosperity and comfort, in his dwelling, in his dress, and in the condition of his wife and children. He believes that his safety lies in the deplorable appearance of his hovel, his family, and his rags.

This feeling is not confined to the poor reclaimers of bog and mountain, it pervades the great majority of tenants from year to year of all the land so held in the country. This is the feeling which makes tenants hostile to improvement, even when the landlord proposes to bear the cost of it. This is the feeling which suggests to the tenant the exhausting process of repeated corn crops, by which the condition of the farm and the farmer is constantly deteriorated, until it arrives at the lowest stage of wretchedness.[1]

This is but too true a description, in every particular, of the existing state of things. Such evidence is entitled to the more weight that it comes from a distinguished lawyer, much of the business of whose court is conversant with matters connected with the tenure of land and the management of landed property in Ireland.

I conclude this chapter with the following extract from

[1] 'The Land Difficulty of Ireland, with an effort to solve it,' p. 26. By Gerald Fitz Gibbon, Esq., Master in Chancery. Longmans, 1869.

the evidence of Judge Longfield, before the Committee of 1865:—

I do not know what capital is possessed by the Irish tenants, but I have reason to believe they have much hoarded. For instance, the Marquis of Thomond's estate in Clare was sold in small lots, and in many cases tenants were the purchasers.

CHAPTER XLI.

IT IS NOT CAPITAL IRELAND SO MUCH WANTS, AS THE REMOVAL OF THE EXISTING IMPEDIMENTS TO THE CREATION AND FREE USE OF CAPITAL—IF REMOVED, INDUSTRIAL ENERGY AND HABITS OF INDUSTRY WOULD RAPIDLY GROW—THESE QUALITIES, IN A CERTAIN SENSE, THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF A NATION'S WEALTH—THE ABSENCE OF THESE QUALITIES AND OF THE RESERVE FUND THEY CREATE, PAINFULLY ILLUSTRATED IN THE IRISH FAMINE YEARS.

It is not capital, therefore, that Ireland so much wants as the removal of the existing impediments to the creation and free use of capital. While these impediments remain, the country cannot employ her present capital, small as it is. Remove them, and, as we have seen in the exceptional cases where this has been done, her industrial resources will be thoroughly developed, and her sons, no longer listless and hopeless, will rapidly acquire those qualities which characterize the masses in other civilized countries—that untiring industry, that effective desire of accumulation, by which capital is created, kept in existence, and steadily increased. Perhaps there is no civilized nation so deficient in these qualities as Ireland. England, on the contrary, possesses them in a high degree. They constitute her chief wealth. And it is obvious that one million sterling earned by these qualities is really more beneficial to a country than would be ten millions (as in the case supposed) contributed by another country. The greater part of the wealth so earned is sure to be usefully employed—that is, to become capital—within the country.

A man who has accumulated 10,000*l.* by his own hard labour whether of hand or brain, will value and husband his earnings and turn them to the best account for himself and the community; whereas a man who inherits or receives a gift of a similar sum, who has never had to work for his bread, whose industrial powers and faculties have never been exercised, and are consequently undeveloped, will, as a rule, act very differently. He has not the habits, nor the capacity, nor the inclination for useful industry. The former not only labours himself, but he sets others to labour, at reproductive work; for his capital (as is the case with all capital) is nearly all expended in the wages of labour. The latter doubtless may lend his money to others who will employ it as capital, but probably not within the country, at least in the case of Ireland, as, owing to the low state of her productive industry, money is in more demand elsewhere. In any event, he is himself a drone in the hive, an unproductive consumer. Let us multiply these instances by thousands, let us carry the analogy from individuals to communities, and it must be evident to us that any amount of money poured into Ireland could not compensate for the deficiency of those qualities by which alone capital is created and kept in existence—that is, productively employed.

In a certain sense, these qualities are the most important part of a nation's wealth; far more important indeed than the mere material wealth they create. This is evidenced by the amazing rapidity with which well-ordered states recover from great public calamities, such as wars, blights and famines, the gaps made by which are almost immediately repaired by the energy of the inhabitants, combined of course with the reserve fund of capital at their disposal. But these qualities cannot be developed in the presence of such bars to productive industry as exist in Ireland.

In conclusion then, if a country would possess capital she must create it herself. If she would create capital she must labour—inasmuch as capital is but past labour laid by to aid

future. If she would keep her capital in existence she must likewise labour; for, as we have seen, the great bulk of capital is made up of the food and clothing of labourers, and the process of consumption and reproduction must be constantly going on. Otherwise her capital will rapidly diminish. It will be consumed without being reproduced. A large proportion of the inhabitants, eating the bread of idleness, will be unproductive consumers, instead of replacing by their labour all that they consume, with an increase superadded. It is true, the lowest description of food and the smallest quantity thereof that will sustain life may be reached, and thus a miserable existence may be indefinitely prolonged; but, let a bad harvest or other general calamity supervene, and the result is fearful to contemplate. There is no reserve fund on which to fall back; there is none of that energy to repair losses by which prosperous communities are enabled to pass through similar ordeals comparatively unscathed; famine and pestilence stalk through the land, even though nature may have liberally endowed it with the requisites of production; and thus are realized scenes of utter helplessness and human suffering, such as, in our days, have made Irish misery, 'la misère en Irlande,' a by-word among the nations - a scandal and a reproach to our vaunted British institutions.

CHAPTER XLII.

CAPITAL THE RESULT OF SAVING—THE THREE CLASSES BY WHOM SAVING MAY BE EFFECTED—SAVINGS OF THE LABOURING CLASSES NOT AS MUCH AS THEY MIGHT BE—SAVINGS BANKS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND RESPECTIVELY, IN 1867; AMOUNTS RESPECTIVELY RECEIVED AND PAID OUT; DEPOSITS FOR THE YEAR, AND TOTAL DEPOSITS, TO EACH HEAD OF THE POPULATION IN EACH COUNTRY—POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS IN THE THREE COUNTRIES; GREAT ADVANTAGES THEREOF—SAVINGS OF LANDOWNERS; VERY LARGE IN GREAT BRITAIN; IN IRELAND VERY SMALL—SAVINGS CHIEFLY EFFECTED BY CAPITALISTS—THE PROFIT OF THE CAPITALIST HIS INDUCEMENT TO SAVE, AS IT IS TO EMPLOY HIS SAVINGS PRODUCTIVELY; COMPLETE SECURITY AN ESSENTIAL CONDITION TO HIS DOING SO.

FROM what has been already said, it is evident that capital is the result of saving. We have seen that saving may be effected by three classes; the landowner out of his rent, the labourer out of his wages, and the capitalist out of his profit. Sometimes the landowner and capitalist are combined in one, as, for instance, when the landlord himself carries on farming operations, and thus, as a capitalist, dispenses the wages of labour. Sometimes again, as in countries of peasant proprietors, the farmer, tilling his own little plot, combines landowner, capitalist and labourer all in his own person. Again, the small farmer in Ireland commonly unites the functions of capitalist and labourer, but in his case production is necessarily very short, as the condition of security is wanting, and therefore his labour and capital are not invested in the land as freely as in the other two cases.

The savings of the labouring classes in these countries are not as much as they might be; so much is expended, or rather wasted by them, in the excess of individual enjoyment. The fact is, they have not the inducement to save, the opportunities of profit, which a considerable proportion of the corresponding class have in other countries, where the land, nature's great

savings bank, is available to the masses, who are thus, as it were, educated to habits of saving by the circumstances of their every day life.

The greater part of the savings of our labouring classes are deposited in the several savings banks of the United Kingdom. The following figures give the particulars of these deposits in the year 1867 :—

	No. of Banks	No. of Depositors	Amount due to Depositors £
England and Wales	439	1,144,984	31,493,363
Scotland	52	168,120	2,949,900
Ireland	46	53,006	1,633,015
Islands in British Seas	2	19,672	457,738
Total	539	1,385,782	36,534,016 [1]

The amounts respectively received and paid out in 1867 were :—

	Received £	Paid £
England and Wales	5,741,478	6,793,579
Scotland	1,055,784	938,243
Ireland	463,569	428,238

Taking the Board of Trade estimate of the population of the three countries in 1867 as our basis, we find the average amount of deposits received that year to each head of the population to have been :—

	s.	d.
In England and Wales	5	3½
„ Scotland	6	8
„ Ireland	1	8

The total amount of deposits lying in the banks in 1867 was to each head of the population :—

	£	s.	d.
In England and Wales	1	9	1
„ Scotland		18	7¼
„ Ireland		5	10

In these figures we have striking evidence of the relative poverty and low productive industry of Ireland.

[1] In these are included 2,570,357*l.* deposited by Penny Banks, Charitable Institutions and Friendly Societies. The Friendly Societies have also 1,799,648*l.* deposited *direct* with the National Debt Commissioners, not included in the above.

The Post Office Savings Banks, which are exclusive of the above, are a great public benefit, being already nearly seven times as numerous as the ordinary savings banks, and bringing the institution home to the poor man's door.[1]

They were first established in 1861,[2] and are steadily progressing, as will be seen by the following figures:—

Year	No. of Banks Dec. 31.	No. of Depositors	Deposits Received £	Total Deposits £	No. of Accounts open	Average amount at credit of each Account £	s.	d.
1862	2,535	639,216	639,216	2,114,669	178,495	9	10	3
1867	3,629	2,232,347	1,592,344	4,643,906	854,983	11	8	0

In England and Wales, in 1867, there was one depositor to every eleven persons; in Scotland one depositor to every sixteen persons; and in Ireland one to every sixty-nine persons. The total amount of deposits in Post Office Savings Banks in Ireland on June 30, 1867, was 220,637*l.*

The landowners of Great Britain have certainly effected and continue annually to effect very large savings in the aggregate, and have of late years sunk an enormous amount of capital in their land. In Ireland the corresponding class are able to save but very little indeed. Consequently their land, generally speaking, either remains in a state of nature, or, if partially improved, the improvements, such as they are, are mainly effected by the tenant, and even his saved labour is thus but sparingly invested in the absence of that security which is an essential condition of such an outlay being made.

But it is by capitalists that saving is chiefly effected—that middle class which is the main stay of a nation; a class at all times lamentably small in Ireland. The capitalist uses not only his own savings, but those of the landowner and labourer,

[1] A depositor in any one of the Post Office Savings Banks can deposit his money in any other of such banks without change of book, and can withdraw his money at any post office in the United Kingdom. Depositors have *direct* Government security. The rate of interest allowed is 2*l.* 10*s.* per cent., that allowed by the ordinary Savings Banks being 3*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*

[2] September 16, 1861.

to whom he gives a portion of his profit in the shape of interest.

The profit of the capitalist is the inducement to save, as it is the inducement to employ his savings productively; that is, to use them as capital. Complete security is an essential condition of his doing so; for, without this security, he will not invest his capital, as in the case of the Irish tenant-at-will, at the risk of losing not only his profit, but his capital itself.

CHAPTER XLIII.

SUPPLY OF THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE TO THE BRITISH METROPOLIS—THE BREAKFAST TABLE OF THE WEALTHY LONDONER—MAN'S INBORN LOVE OF GAIN; THE EFFECTIVE DESIRE OF ACCUMULATION; THE HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT OF THIS PRINCIPLE VERY FEEBLE IN IRELAND; THIS, NOT THE FAULT OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE; IRISHMEN PLACED IN A FAIR POSITION MOST INDUSTRIOUS—MIGRATION TO ENGLAND OF CONNAUGHT LABOURERS FOR HARVEST WORK; MUCH DIMINISHED OF LATE—THE IRISHMAN HAS FOUND FOR HIMSELF A NEW HABITATION ACROSS THE ATLANTIC; HIS ACCUMULATIONS THERE; HIS SYMPATHY WITH FRIENDS AT HOME—PROPORTION OF PASSAGES PREPAID IN AMERICA—REMITTANCES OF IRISH EMIGRANTS TO THEIR FRIENDS IN IRELAND—INTERESTING CASE IN POINT.

In the British metropolis are congregated over three millions of human beings. We are enabled by the aid of certain statistical returns and calculations, to approximate the enormous daily consumption of the necessaries and luxuries of life by this vast population, occupying so limited a space. This is a simple matter, but wonderful indeed and complex is the problem of the steady, regular, unfailing supply, to meet this consumption —a supply ever sufficient, but never in excess. Food, clothing, every convenience, every luxury, whatever can minister to man's wants or gratify his tastes, are all there to be found in abundance, but never in wasteful profusion. The wealthy Londoner rises in the morning and finds on his breakfast table tea brought

from a distance of 16,000 miles, coffee and sugar from the tropics, bread, eggs, poultry, meat, milk, and butter from the rural districts, for many miles around. His damask tablecloth and napkins are furnished from the north of Ireland, his porcelain from Staffordshire, Sèvres, or China, his cutlery from Sheffield, his costly plate from the mines of Southern America. Around him are silk hangings from Lyons, Genoese velvets, Turkey carpets, the rare woods of the Spanish main, in every form of elegance and convenience, and precious gems of painting and sculpture from Italy. In a word, his every want is supplied, his every desire is, as it were, anticipated from the utmost bounds of the earth. Then he has his morning newspaper, with all the latest intelligence of whatever is of interest or importance in every part of the metropolis or empire, and details of events in foreign lands, thousands of miles away, events occurring within the last few hours, which have come with lightning wings along the electric wire, and have been forthwith printed for his use and entertainment. Then in the course of the day his thousand other requirements are at once satisfied. The man in humbler life is equally supplied with plainer fare and cheaper appliances and necessaries suited to his means and convenience. Let us multiply this by hundreds of thousands, it is all the same; let us extend it beyond London; let us take into consideration all civilized communities, all the cities and nations of the globe, and we still find one and the same great law—supply meeting demand—production balancing consumption—and this with mathematical nicety, without either scarcity or excess.[1] That supply too, is, through the principle of competition, produced in the most convenient form and at the cheapest rate, and consequently with the greatest economy of labour and materials. All this is the result of man's inborn love of gain—of the effective desire of accumulation, which sets capital to work, and thus furnishes the wages of labour. In no

[1] Gluts may be partial or local, but are never universal.

part of the civilized world is the healthy development of this principle so backward, its operation so feeble as in Ireland. Assuredly, the fault lies not in the masses of the people, but rather in the circumstances beyond their control, in the midst of which they live, and move, and have their being. Place an Irishman in an ordinarily fair position, and, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances, surrounded by which he has grown up, and by which his character and habits have been moulded and formed, he will incessantly labour, not only supporting himself, but subserving the purposes of accumulation.

Long before emigration to America became a reality, the poor harvest labourers from Connaught, undeterred by the sea-voyage, or by the rebuffs and contempt they were sure to meet with in a strange land, and notwithstanding their separation from their wives and children, who, during their absence, had to beg their daily bread from door to door, went in thousands every year to save the harvest in England; and, denying themselves almost the bare necessaries of life, returned home with their savings, to pay the rent of their little cabins and gardens, and thus enable their families to subsist for the remainder of the year. England now misses a great deal of this periodic immigration, and has good reason in this, as in other respects, to lament what has been aptly termed the daily increasing leak in our great reservoir of unskilled labour. In many of the rural districts of England the remembrance must be fresh of those poor men, their strange tongue, their emaciated frames, their ragged garb, their persevering toil. Latterly, with the spread of education and the facilities of intercourse which modern science and enterprise have opened up, the Irishman has found for himself a new habitation beyond the seas, a land of promise where, without let or hindrance, he is able by his stalwart arms, in the sweat of his brow, to support himself and his family; rapidly accumulating capital, and giving irrefragable proof that his poverty-stricken condition in his native land is not the result of any defect in the national character, and that long-continued suffering and perse-

cution have not destroyed in him that effective desire of accumulation which is natural to man, nor subdued those higher impulses of our common nature, which nowhere exist more fully than in the Irish heart. For, from that New Ireland of the far West perpetually flows a current, broad and deep, of strong sympathy with friends and kindred in the dear old home; and the savings of those poor emigrants actually bridge over the wide Atlantic to some 50,000 of their relatives every year. The emigration from Ireland to America, notwithstanding the reduction of the population, has, for many years, continued at a steady average of over 100,000 annually, and of these considerably more than one-half of the passages are paid for at the other side. Formerly one-fourth was the proportion of passages paid for in America. Now more than one-half are paid for there.[1] Formerly, too, money remittances came to friends at this side to enable them to struggle on in Ireland. Now that hope is at an end, and the best form of remittance appears to be considered the passage out prepaid. In the six years immediately following the famine, 1848 to 1853 inclusive, the amount sent home by the Irish in America, either in the form of prepaid passages or of money, is given by the Emigration Commissioners at 5,790,000*l.*, or nearly 1,000,000*l.* per annum.[2] This was some fifteen to twenty years ago, when the Irish population in America was considerably less than it is now. What must be their accu-

[1] The statement of Emigration Agents, in reply to my inquiries in October 1869. They further inform me, that it is a common case, when passage tickets are sent over here from America, that exertions are made on this side, to make up the amount of one or two more passages, so as to enable two or three of a family to go out together.

[2] 'The contributions, either in the form of prepaid passages, or of money sent home by the Irish, were returned to us,' say the Commissioners, 'as in

1848	upwards of	£460,000
1849	"	540,000
1850	"	957,000
1851	"	990,000
1852	"	1,404,000
1853	"	1,439,000
		5,790,000'

mulation at present! Formerly the emigrants departed from Ireland with weeping and wailing. Now they go with gladsome hearts; for they go to rejoin the greater part of their families; they obey a natural impulse; in the words of the Census Commissioners of 1861, they are led by 'the proverbial strength of family ties amongst the Irish people, and their apparently irresistible tendency to reunite at the earliest opportunity.'

I have now before me the letter of a girl, written within two months, enclosing a passage ticket for her mother, brother, and sister, costing seventy dollars, saved out of her earnings. She had some time previously sent over the passage ticket of her father, a labourer, who had but occasional employment at home. Well may we admire the heroism of this poor girl, going forth to seek her fortune in a strange land, sustained by the holy ambition of becoming, under God, the instrument of raising up her family from poverty and misery to a happy competence. How she must have toiled and saved, to bring over the sea that humble home she had left in sorrow and uncertainty, now changed into joy! She writes:—'I regret, dear mother, I cannot send you anything towards getting you clothes, but the passages are all I can do. Come, dear mother, and we shall all be happy together, never to part any more.' This is but one case of thousands of a similar kind constantly occurring. '*Ex uno disce omnes.*'

CHAPTER XLIV.

LAND, LABOUR AND CAPITAL, BROUGHT INTO COMBINATION IN OTHER COUNTRIES; KEPT ASUNDER IN IRELAND—POVERTY AND DISCONTENT THE RESULT—STRIKING INSTANCES OF THE SUCCESSFUL INDUSTRY OF THE IRISH IN OTHER COUNTRIES—POVERTY AND DISCONTENT BEGET AGITATION—THE POLICY OF ALL WISE RULERS TO FACILITATE AND PROMOTE THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE MASSES—MOST INTERESTING LETTER AND NOBLE CONDUCT OF AN IRISH EMIGRANT, QUITE APPOSITE TO THIS SUBJECT.

In all civilized countries, save Ireland, there is a natural attraction between land, labour, and capital. In Ireland, unfortunately, certain political and social circumstances have long tended, and still tend, to keep these elements of production asunder. The result is the idleness and extreme poverty of the inhabitants—of people who, when they go to other countries, are remarkable for their unceasing toil.[1] In England and in America the Irish are indeed the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Their thews and sinews have largely contributed to uprear many of the great public works in those countries of their adoption. The result of this unfortunate state of things in Ireland is a constant *malaise*, directly springing out of and overlaying the misery of the people. When there is something very wrong in a nation there must be discontent. Discontent begets agitation, if not worse. As well may we complain of the restlessness of a fever patient, as of the agitation in Ireland, constituted as she has been hitherto under British rule. An unpleasant truth is this, but not the less a truth. What can be worse than to have the masses sunk in a state of chronic destitution? All wise rulers of states consult as far as possible for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. They provide indirectly, as

[1] Several striking instances of the successful industry of the Irish, in the United States and the British possessions of North America, are given by Mr. Maguire in his interesting work, 'The Irish in America.'—See Appendix XV., Industry of Irish immigrants in various countries.

far as they can, for the employment of the working classes. They do all that in them lies to facilitate and encourage the outlay of capital, which is synonymous with the employment of labour. They remove, as far as practicable, by judicious legislation, all obstacles to the free combination of the three great requisites of production. They are alive to the fact that the labourer not only reproduces by his labour all that he consumes, but, in the excess of production over consumption, adds largely, in the aggregate, to the nation's wealth. They are aware, too, that, by employment and occupation of body and mind, the people are kept from plotting mischief. 'The devil tempts every one, but the idle man tempts the devil,' says a Spanish proverb. *Soigner les ouvriers* is the policy of Napoleon. *Panem et Circenses* was a cry of unmistakable significance in the days of the Roman Empire.

The following is a case in point:—In the year 1850, a charitable society in the city of Cork was applied to on behalf of a deserving family reduced to extreme destitution. The father was a carpenter, who, though willing to work, was unable to procure employment. The society afforded them relief for several weeks, and, at length, as all efforts of the poor man to obtain work at home were unavailing, they aided him to emigrate with his whole family to New York. They lost sight of him with the emigrant vessel that bore him from their shores; in fact, in the multitude of similar cases, they had totally forgotten him; when, in about two years afterwards, they were agreeably surprised by being handed the following extract from a letter which he wrote to the benevolent lady who had recommended him for relief:—

New York, February 3, 1852.

I have the pleasure to remit the Society of St. Vincent de Paul five pounds sterling, with the most cheerful heart that man could possess. This was the worst season of the year to remit money, in consequence of the winter being so severe, this being the severest winter that was here in twenty years, as stated by people living here so long. There

was nothing doing, the rivers were frozen, and the people could not get without doors for three weeks. But it is changing, thank God, for the better; we expect a good spring. It would be a cold look out if I had nothing done before this winter. Thank God, I was able to enjoy myself, and keep within doors during the cold days, as well as any other tradesman in this city. Madam, you are anxious to know from me at what business I work. I worked carpentering business for twelve months; did not like how I was getting on in that business, and took another way of living, by which a man must make himself generally useful in this country. I am at present making packing boxes, which was the best business in this city. The kind of boxes I make is sperm candle boxes, cracker boxes, wine boxes, tea boxes, and mustard boxes, which must be made of fancy wood, and neatly finished. There is nothing that was ever thought of or instituted for the use of man, but is exported from this city, all in boxes. This is hard work. What makes it so hard is because a man has to make a good many of them, to be able to make any wages. My boy and I must make a great lot of them per day, so as to be able to make three dollars, at four cents, that is two pence, per box. Madam, you must know that the young fellow and I have not much time to talk about the 'repail' of the Union, in being able to make three pounds British per week. Sometimes we make four pounds, according to the run of work we get. I have to inform you, thank God, that I have 150 dollars in bank. I would have 200, were it not for twenty-five I gave my daughter and this which I now send the society. I expect to have 300 next spring, with the assistance of God. I wear as good a suit of clothes as any gentleman in the City of Cork, and twenty dollars' worth of a watch in my pocket.

What a contrast is presented by the position of this man in America, and that which he occupied in his native land! At home, however willing to work, he is without employment, his wife and children are starving, and he and they are all likely to become, ere long, permanent burdens on the poor rates. He emigrates, and he is able forthwith to support himself and his family in comfort. Nay, more, he has not only the necessaries, but the luxuries of life: for, 'a good suit of clothes and twenty dollars' worth of a watch in one's pocket' are luxuries quite Utopian, quite beyond the confines of hope for the struggling tradesman, on the verge of pauperism, in Ireland. Add to this

he is saving money at the rate of 100 dollars a year. Still more interesting than the economic is the moral aspect of this case. The poor man need not have sent one penny to the charitable society that enabled him to emigrate. Nothing was expected; he was entirely forgotten. But no: he remits his benefactors 5*l.*, one-eighth of his two years' savings, which he knows will be devoted to some other deserving case similar to his own. The departure of a good citizen such as this, of a tradesman capable of comfortably supporting his family, and adding, in his accumulations, to the general wealth, is a serious loss to any country; and unsatisfactory indeed must be the social and economic condition of that country, which, with her industrial resources far short of development, is unable to utilize such a man, and must cast him forth, and tens of thousands like him, every year, as useless burdens, and send them to enrich a foreign land!

One line in this man's letter appositely illustrates one of the main causes of Irish agitation—namely, the want of industrial occupation for the people:—'Madam, the young fellow and I have not much time to talk about the "repail" of the Union, in being able to make three pounds British per week.' If Irish workmen could steadily earn one-fourth or one-sixth of this amount on the average, we should be much less troubled by Fenianism, or the other disquieting influences which are so detrimental not only to Ireland but to the whole empire.

CHAPTER XLV.

POPULATION THE LIFE-BLOOD OF STATES—DECLINE IN THE POPULATION OF IRELAND; AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY—ENGLAND, IN 1861, TWICE AS DENSELY PEOPLED AS IRELAND—TOTAL AREAS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, AND OF IRELAND RESPECTIVELY; AREAS OF ARABLE LAND; POPULATION IN 1861; NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS TO EVERY 500 ACRES OF ARABLE LAND IN EACH COUNTRY—COMMON ERROR, THAT THERE ARE PROPORTIONALLY A MUCH GREATER NUMBER EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE IN IRELAND THAN IN ENGLAND AND WALES; CAUSE OF THIS ERROR—OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE, WITH THE NUMBERS IN EACH CLASS, IN BOTH COUNTRIES; NUMBERS OF THE CLASS AGRICULTURAL IN EACH COUNTRY; NUMBER OF CULTIVATORS TO 500 ACRES OF ARABLE LAND IN EACH COUNTRY—CULTIVATORS IN EACH COUNTRY VIEWED IN RELATION TO THE PROPORTIONS OF TILLAGE AND PASTURE.

FROM the foregoing considerations, it is evident that, as labour is the main source of wealth, so population is the life-blood of states. But, unfortunately, while the population of other countries is steadily advancing, that of Ireland is declining in an alarming ratio; and, politically and socially constituted as Ireland is, that decline is an economic necessity.

By the Census of 1861, it appears that England was then twice as densely peopled as Ireland, the numbers being 393 inhabitants to every 500 statute acres of arable land in England and Wales, against 186 inhabitants to the same area in Ireland. Yet the population of England were all employed at high wages, and comfortably supported by England's fully developed agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; while Ireland, with her imperfectly developed agricultural resources, her greatly neglected manufacturing capabilities, and her consequently small commerce, was unable to employ and support her relatively so much smaller population.

The total area of England and Wales is given in the Board of Trade agricultural returns of December 1868,[1] as 37,324,883 statute acres, and that of Ireland as 20,322,641. The extent of

[1] Page 10.

land under all kinds of crops, bare fallow, and grass,[1] is stated at 25,542,427 acres in England and Wales, and 15,575,270 in Ireland.

The respective areas and populations will then stand thus:—

	ENGLAND AND WALES	IRELAND
	Statute acres	Statute acres
Total area	37,324,883	20,322,641
Arable land	25,542,427	15,575,270
	Individuals	Individuals
Population in 1861	20,066,224	5,798,968
No. of individuals to every 500 acres of arable land	393	186

But we shall be reminded that Ireland is mainly an agricultural country, and that, in instituting our comparison, we must make due allowance for the labour absorbed by the mines and manufactures of England, involving, with their consequent commerce, a vast town population, not to speak of the capital, with its three millions of inhabitants; and that, doing this, we must admit that Ireland is still greatly overpeopled—a fact alleged to be indisputably proved by the low rate of wages in that country, as compared with England and Wales. This is indeed a question of the very first importance, and one that requires to be thoroughly discussed before we proceed further in our inquiry; especially as considerable misconception exists on the subject.

It is an error but too common to suppose that there are proportionally a much greater number employed in agriculture in Ireland than in England and Wales. This error has passed current, because it has been assumed as a matter of fact by writers of deservedly great authority on Irish subjects. They evidently err by confounding the present with the past; and, furthermore, they and their readers are misled by the form in which the proposition is commonly stated. It is this:—'The numbers engaged in agriculture in Ireland, as given by the Census Commissioners of 1861, are 18·3 per cent. of the population, against 10·1 per cent. of the population so engaged in

[1] Inclusive of permanent pasture not broken up in rotation (exclusive of heath or mountain land) in both cases.

England and Wales,' and therefore, they infer, the numbers of the class agricultural in Ireland are, as compared with England and Wales, in the proportion of 18 to 10 in equal areas. The argument would hold good if the populations of both countries were equally dense; but, as we have already seen, the population of England and Wales is more than in the double ratio of that of Ireland, and therefore, in reality, the numbers of the class agricultural in 1861 were relatively less in Ireland than in England and Wales, being, according to the above figures, 34·04 to 39·69 for every 500 acres of arable land, viz.:—

	ENGLAND AND WALES	IRELAND
Total population to every 500 acres of arable land	393	186
Percentage of cultivators	10·1	18·3
No. of cultivators per 500 acres	39·69	34·04

We may arrive at a still more accurate result by taking the total number of cultivators, as given by the Census Commissioners, rather than the above percentage, in which the fractions, to some extent, are necessarily merged, and which is calculated on the *actual industrial* population, omitting a considerable number in Ireland of 'no stated rank, profession, or occupation,' which class is proportionally eight times as numerous in that country as in England and Wales, viz.:—

CENSUS OF 1861.				
CLASSES	PERSONS		RATE PER CENT.	
	England and Wales	Ireland	England and Wales	Ireland
I. Professional	481,957	96,613	2·4	1·8
II. Domestic	11,426,720	3,075,324	57·4	56·8
III. Commercial	623,710	120,576	3·1	2·2
IV. Agricultural	2,010,454	988,929	10·1	18·3
V. Industrial	4,828,399	667,172	24·3	12·3
VI. Indefinite and non-productive	544,094	468,192	2·7	8·6
Total	19,915,334	5,416,806	100·0	100·0
Persons of no stated rank, profession, or occupation	150,890	382,161	0·8	6·6
Total of all persons	20,066,224	5,798,967		

Here we see that the total numbers of the class agricultural in 1861 were 2,010,454 in England and Wales—being 1,631,652 males, and 378,802 females; whilst in Ireland they were 988,929—being 904,748 males, and 84,181 females. This gives us 39½ cultivators to every 500 acres of arable land in England and Wales, and only 31¾ cultivators to the same area in Ireland, viz.:—

	ENGLAND AND WALES	IRELAND
	Statute acres	Statute acres
Area of arable land	25,542,427	15,575,270
	Individuals	Individuals
Numbers engaged in agriculture in 1861	2,010,454	988,929
Cultivators per 500 acres	39·35	31·74

But again we are told that there is a larger proportion of arable land under tillage in England and Wales than in Ireland; and that for tillage eight cultivators are required for every one required for pasture, and that this circumstance ought to be taken into account in our comparison.

Examining the question from this point of view, we certainly have *primâ facie* evidence that Ireland, as compared with England and Wales, was considerably in excess of her due proportion of cultivators in 1861; but, as we proceed further, and take into account the peculiar circumstances of the agriculture of each country, circumstances in Ireland by no means analogous to those in the sister island, we shall find that this *primâ facie* evidence must give way in the presence of incontrovertible facts.

Adopting the proportion of eight cultivators for tillage land to one for pasture, of equal areas, and taking the tillage and pasture of England and Wales, as given in the Board of Trade returns in December 1868, we have the cultivators thus divided:—

	ENGLAND AND WALES	
	Statute acres	Cultivators
Tillage	14,423,216	1,833,745
Pasture	11,119,211	176,709
Total	25,542,427	2,010,454

Following the same rule for Ireland, and taking her tillage

and pasture, as set forth in the Board of Trade returns of the same date, and allowing her only the same proportion of cultivators as England and Wales, to equal areas of tillage and pasture respectively, we find her reduced to the following numbers:—

	IRELAND	
	Statute acres	Cultivators
Tillage	5,571,352	708,298
Pasture	10,003,918	158,989
Total	15,575,270	867,287

Here we have 121,642 less than her actual number of cultivators in 1861.

But in Ireland the holdings are much smaller than in England and Wales; and it is obvious that the smaller the holdings the greater the number employed in agriculture proportionally must be. We have seen that all the holdings in Ireland average 26 acres of arable land against 59 acres in England and Wales, and that, excluding all small lots, the farms of Ireland average 34 acres, against 98 acres in the sister island. In 1861 the 20,319,924 acres of Ireland were divided into 608,564 holdings, averaging 33 acres of total area and 26 acres of arable land. Surely 988,929 cultivators—men, women, and boys—are not an undue proportion for 600,000 holdings, being an average of about one and a half persons to each holding. On the contrary, they would be far short of the number that would be required if the land were properly cultivated.

CHAPTER XLVI.

EXTRAORDINARY THEORY THAT 500,000 CULTIVATORS ARE SUFFICIENT FOR IRELAND—A REDUCTION IN THE PRESENT NUMBER OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS IN IRELAND NOT DESIRABLE; SOME OF THE SMALL HOLDINGS MIGHT BE CONSOLIDATED, AND SOME OF THE LARGE SUBDIVIDED; 1,700,000 ACRES OF RECLAIMABLE WASTE IN THESE LATTER—VERY LARGE FARMS NOT SUITABLE FOR IRELAND—MR. CAIRD'S OPINION TO THIS EFFECT—VALUE OF LIVE STOCK AND CROPS OF ALL THE FARMS OF THIRTY ACRES AND UNDER IN IRELAND; THE SAME OF ALL THE FARMS OF OVER THIRTY ACRES; THE SAME PER ACRE IN EACH CLASS.

NOTWITHSTANDING the facts set forth in the last chapter, we are told by a writer of deservedly high repute that, whereas in the Lothians of Scotland and certain parts of England 'it has been found that about eighteen men, with a small proportion of women, are sufficient to cultivate in the most efficient manner 500 acres of arable land, if we apply this proportion to the 15,832,892 acres of land under cattle and crops in Ireland, we shall see that some half million of persons would be able to cultivate the entire area.'[1]

It is rather difficult to realize this proposition. The actual number of agricultural holdings in Ireland is 600,000. How are these to be managed by 500,000 cultivators? Evidently the propounders of the theory contemplate a considerable reduction in the number of holdings—probably of one-sixth, so as to allow an average of at least one cultivator to each holding! Such a reduction, however, is not likely to be attained for a very long time. Indeed, anyone acquainted with the agriculture of Ireland must see that it is far from desirable.

It is true that a considerable proportion of the existing small holdings, of which, as we have seen,[2] there are 302,335 from 15 acres down, comprising a total area of 2,122,655 acres, of

[1] 'Irish Emigration and the Tenure of land in Ireland,' p. 10. By Lord Dufferin.

[2] Supra, p. 103.

which 1,917,589[1] are arable land, might with advantage be consolidated in particular districts, such as parts of Connaught and Donegal, provided this could be done without injustice or hardship; but, on the other hand, it is no less true that a large proportion of the 9,915 holdings from 200 acres up, comprising in the aggregate 4,922,354 acres, of which 2,602,452[2] are arable land, might with equal advantage be subdivided. In these holdings we have the greater part of the 1,700,000 acres of reclaimable waste, which at present lie wholly unproductive, but which if occupied on long leases by an industrious peasantry, secure of the fruits of their labour, would add largely to the wealth of the community. Thus, while many of the smaller farms would be consolidated, the present number of 600,000 holdings would not be materially reduced.

Very large farms are certainly not suitable for Ireland. Writing on this subject, Mr. Caird observes:—

> The small farm system is condemned by some, and that of the Lothians and the corn counties of England commended as a substitute. Independent of other considerations, I don't think the large farm system suited to the moist climate of Ireland. I am sure it will not usefully maintain so large a population, and statesmen ought not to overlook the fact, that of a capital of £31,000,000 invested in live stock in Ireland, more than one-third is the property of tenants holding less than thirty acres of land.[3]

It may not be uninteresting here to observe that the small farmers, of thirty acres and under, alluded to by Mr. Caird, owned, in the year 1866, over two-fifths of the crops, and close on one-third of the live stock of the country. The following tables are formed from the exact figures as given by the Registrar-General:—[4]

[1] Exclusive of 13,004 acres of woods and plantations.

[2] Exclusive of 165,700 acres of woods and plantations. See supra, p. 103.

[3] Letter to the *Times*, April 1867.

[4] Agricultural Statistics for 1866, xiii. xx. xlvii.

VALUE OF LIVE STOCK ON ALL HOLDINGS OF 30 ACRES AND UNDER, IN IRELAND, AND ON ALL HOLDINGS OF OVER 30 ACRES, RESPECTIVELY, IN THE YEAR 1866.

Class	No. of holdings of each class	Total area Acres	Under crops Acres	Grazing land Acres	Value of live stock £
Thirty acres and under	469,887	5,169,448	2,260,407	2,330,349	11,651,456[1]
Above 30 acres	158,794	15,150,476	3,260,161	7,673,895	24,232,542
Total . .	628,681	20,319,924	5,520,568	10,004,244	35,883,998

AREA AND VALUE[2] OF CROPS ON ALL HOLDINGS IN IRELAND OF 30 ACRES AND UNDER, AND ON ALL HOLDINGS ABOVE 30 ACRES, RESPECTIVELY, IN THE YEAR 1866.

	Holdings of 30 acres and under 438,834		Holdings above 30 acres 158,794		Total holdings 597,628	
	Acres	Value	Acres	Value	Acres	Value
Wheat . .	92,812	£524,388	206,378	£1,166,034	299,190	£1,690,422
Oats . .	777,038	3,030,449	922,657	3,598,362	1,699,695	6,628,811
Barley . .	52,311	329,559	97,982	617,286	150,293	946,845
Bere and rye .	5,383	21,532	4,638	18,552	10,021	40,084
Beans and Pease	5,937	64,120	8,897	96,087	14,834	160,207
Total of Cereals	933,481	3,970,048	1,240,552	5,496,321	2,174,033	9,466,369
Potatoes . .	578,235	5,059,556	472,118	4,131,033	1,050,353	9,190,589
Turnips . .	96,969	693,328	220,229	1,574,637	317,198	2,267,965
Mangel . .	3,648	34,109	16,434	153,657	20,082	187,766
Other green crops	34,289	411,468	46,265	555,180	80,554	966,648
Total of green crops	713,141	6,198,461	755,046	6,414,507	1,468,187	12,612,968
Flax . .	152,346	1,515,843	111,161	1,106,052	263,507	2,621,895
Rape . .	2,752	33,024	10,666	127,992	13,418	161,016
Meadow and Clover	458,687	1,857,682	1,142,736	4,628,081	1,601,423	6,485,763
Total of all crops	2,260,407	13,575,058	3,260,161	17,772,953	5,520,568	31,348,011

[1] Stock owners who do not hold land are included in this class.

[2] I have calculated the above at the estimated average produce, and estimated value of each crop, by the Registrar-General, for 1866: viz. per

Here we have the farmers of thirty acres and under owning in live stock and crops in 1866, 25,226,514*l.*, against 42,005,495*l.* owned by the occupiers of all holdings above thirty acres. Taking this fact into account, *in conjunction with the areas of arable land occupied by each class respectively*, we must see that the small farmers of Ireland are, even now, the most valuable economic element in the country. What would they not become under an improved system of tenure! As it is, their stock and crops amount to 5*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.* per acre, while the stock and crops of the larger occupiers average only 3*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* viz. :—

	Total area of arable land	Value of live stock and crops in 1866	Average value of stock and crops per acre		
	Acres	£	£	*s.*	*d.*
Occupiers of 30 acres and under	4,590,756	25,226,514	5	9	11
Occupiers of over 30 acres	10,934,056	42,005,495	3	16	10

CHAPTER XLVII.

OPINIONS AND EVIDENCE OF SEVERAL AUTHORITIES ON THE SUITABLE SIZE OF FARMS AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS IN IRELAND—SYNOPSIS OF THE CONSOLIDATION OF FARMS IN IRELAND SINCE 1841, ARRANGED IN CLASSES ACCORDING TO SIZE—LITTLE CHANGE SINCE 1851 IN EACH CLASS, OR IN THE TOTAL NUMBER—IMPORTANT EVIDENCE OF THE 'TIMES' COMMISSIONER, IN 1869, AS TO THE SIGNAL SUCCESS OF THE SMALL FARM SYSTEM, TRIED UNDER FAVOURABLE CIRCUMSTANCES IN IRELAND.

Fifteen years' experience in the management of property in Ireland (says Lord Dufferin) has convinced me that the farmer of twenty

statute acre, wheat, £5 13*s.*; oats, £3 18*s.*; barley, £6 6*s.*; bere and rye, £4; beans and pease, £10 16*s.*; potatoes, £8 15*s.*; turnips, £7 3*s.*; mangel, £9 7*s.*; other green crops, £12; flax, £9 19*s.*; rape, £12; and meadow and clover, £4 1*s.* Under a system of complete security of tenure, which would necessarily induce superior farming all over the country, in the course of time, the value of all these crops would be considerably raised by increased acreable produce; not to speak of the large increase of the breadth of land under tillage that would be sure to take place.

acres, at a fair rent, makes a larger profit, educates his children better, accumulates more capital, and is more contented than the holder of eight or nine acres at the same rent, and that, at least up to thirty or forty acres, the advantage continues in an ascending ratio. Many advocates of the small farm system would carry it higher, and almost every tenant on my estate is probably of their opinion. I am by no means disposed to consider the English system of large farms applicable to Ireland; on the contrary, I believe we shall eventually settle down to an average size of farm as exceptionally suitable as is the guage of our railways.[1]

This opinion accords with the evidence of several witnesses of weight and experience examined by the Devon Commission,[2] viz.:—

Henry Leslie Prentice, Esq., agent and land holder (Armagh and Tyrone): Has there been any consolidation of farms in the district?—Yes, to a very great extent.

By what means has that been accomplished?—By purchasing on the part of the Earl of Caledon.

What has been the consequence of that consolidation of farms?—A great improvement in the face of the country, and in the management of the land.

To what extent have you been generally anxious to raise the farms?—My opinion is that a twenty-five acre farm is most desirable for the present condition of this country and the circumstances of the people.

James Galwey, Esq., land agent (county Waterford)[3]: Has there been any consolidation of farms in the district?—A great deal.

To what extent, and by what means, has that been accomplished?—A number of people being put out, and the farm given to one man. I am not an advocate for very large farms. In this country men have not capital, and the men who have thirty or forty acres of land pay best.

The Honourable William Le Poer Trench, agent to the Earl of Clancarty[4] (county Galway): To what extent is the consolidation of farms carried out, with what objects, by what means accomplished, and with what consequences?—In Ireland, generally, those who offer themselves as tenants for land have little or no capital, so usually called. Near large towns, or gentlemen's residences, or where else there may be large

[1] 'Irish Emigration and the tenure of land in Ireland,' p. 191. By Lord Dufferin.

[2] Digest of the Devon Commission, pt. i. p. 453.

[3] Ibid. pt. i. p. 467.

[4] Ibid. pt. i. p. 470.

demand for labour, so that a man and his family may obtain pretty constant employment for wages, a small quantity of land is sufficient for him, and no consolidation of farms is required, or takes place on his account; but where a man and his family are to live upon the land, and by the land, his case is quite different. His capital is in himself, and in his family: if his farm be small, it employs but a small portion of his capital, the rest remains idle and unproductive; and consumes the produce at home, leaving nothing to pay rent; but give him enough of land to employ his whole family every working day in the year—that is, leave none of his capital idle, if under a fair rent, and of industrious habits, then will the produce not only feed and clothe the family, and pay rent, but it will leave something besides for comfort. Where consolidation, then, has taken place on these estates, here has been its object; and the extent, if circumstances allowed, has been regulated accordingly. I think about sixteen statute acres of tolerably good land would, upon an average, suffice for the purpose. The means of accomplishing this has been, adding other lands (the tenure whereof expired, and former occupants did not exist, or had no claims to them) to the farms to be enlarged. The consequences have invariably been to improve the condition of the tenants.

Do you consider sixteen acres as the minimum quantity of land necessary for comfort?—No. Where a man has a large family coming up about him, I extend it to that, because if a man has not a sufficient quantity of ground upon which beneficially to employ his labour, you lock up his capital; whereas if you give him an opportunity of employing it, he is a thriving man. His capital will not fructify any more than any other capital, if you do not spread it. If you lock up 1,000 guineas in your strong box, at the end of the year you will find it there, but no more added to it.

H. D. Kelly, Esq., land proprietor, J.P., D.L. (Roscommon and Galway)[1]: To what size have you thought it desirable to bring the farms?—If I could I should not like to have anything under twenty acres; but I am content with ten, and put up with six. I do not think you have a better tenantry in the world than a tenant farmer who holds twenty acres: he is a respectable man, he tills and works his own land, and is a useful member of society.

No less to the point are the following observations:—

There is, we are sorry to say, a growing disposition in land agents (in

[1] Digest of the Devon Commission, pt. i. p. 472.

England) to abolish small farms altogether. The sizes that farms ought to be, however, are not to be arbitrarily determined. The whole question depends on circumstances, comprehending the qualifications of tenantry, the nature of the soil and climate, also the best system of farming which is possible in the circumstances. Not only are small farms profitable in a national point of view, but they serve as steps in the ladder, by which men of small means and industrious habits may raise themselves in the social scale, and such men succeed wonderfully by dint of hard labour and rigid economy.[1]

The consolidation of farms which has taken place in Ireland will be best understood from the following synopsis of the number of holdings in 1841, 1847, 1851, 1861 and 1866 arranged in classes:—

	1841 Holdings	1847 Holdings	1851 Holdings	1861 Holdings	1866 Holdings
Not exceeding 1 acre	135,314[2]	73,016	37,728	40,080	48,236
Above 1, up to 5 acres	310,436	139,041	88,083	85,469	79,742
Above 5, up to 15 acres	252,799	269,534	191,854	183,931	174,357
Above 15, up to 30 acres	79,342	164,337	141,311	141,251	136,499
Above 30 acres . .	48,625	157,097	149,090	157,833	158,794
Total . . .	826,516	803,025	608,066	608,564	597,628

The weight of opinion among those conversant with land in Ireland inclines in favour of the consolidation that has taken place of very small farms, from fifteen acres down, as exemplified by the above figures, the number in 1866 being 302,335, against 698,549 in 1841. On the other hand, the farms above fifteen acres have increased nearly to the ratio of five to two in the same period; the numbers now being 295,293 against 127,967 in 1841.

Perhaps the most conclusive proof that the system, embracing a large proportion of small or moderately-sized farms, is best suited to Ireland, is afforded by the little change that has taken

[1] Macdonald's 'Estate Management,' p. 251.

[2] The number of holdings not exceeding one acre in 1841 is not given in the Census returns. However, we have it in the Poor Law Return, given in Appendix to Land Commission Evidence, p. 95.

place in the number of holdings in each class, as well as in the aggregate, since 1851, as may be seen in the above table; although, in that time, the population has diminished 1,002,302 souls, or over 15 per cent.; viz. from 6,574,278, in 1851, to 5,571,976 in 1866: and that diminution too has been chiefly in the agricultural classes.

This fact is deserving of the careful consideration of those who advocate a further reduction in the number of holdings in Ireland; and, no doubt, on thoroughly studying the question, they will see that if the soil of Ireland were cultivated as it ought to be, and as it can only be by its tillers being fully secure of enjoying the fruits of their labour, the present number of holdings and of cultivators might be considerably increased, with great benefit to the agricultural classes, to the whole country, and to the empire at large.

I cannot better conclude this branch of the subject than by quoting the important evidence of the 'Times' Commissioner as to the signal success of the small farm system, tried, under favourable circumstances, in Ireland—evidence collected by him on the spot as late as the month of September 1869.

The first example is in the baronies of Bargy and Forth in the County of Wexford. These baronies lie on the sea coast, and are shut out from the rest of the county by the Forth mountain. The barony of Bargy contains 40,002 statute acres, and that of Forth 38,366. The land, lying on the clay-slate, is naturally poor and light, but, by the industry of man, it has been greatly enriched and made highly productive. A large proportion is under tillage; and the farmers extensively avail themselves of the seaweed manure, calcareous sand, and marl, which are all to be had in abundant supply.

The inhabitants are the descendants of an English colony which settled there in the reign of Henry II. They have, all through the long lapse of seven centuries, preserved the distinctive characteristics of their origin, in customs, manners, dress, and language.

They are thus described by Arthur Young in 1776 :—

July 12, sallied from my inn, which would have made a very passable castle of enchantment in the eyes of Don Quixote, in search of adventures in these noted baronies of which I have heard so much. They were completely peopled by Strongbow; and from having retained a sort of Saxon language peculiar to themselves, without any of them understanding the Irish, in all probability the country was at that time uninhabited or desolated. I had been told that they were infinitely more industrious and better farmers than in any other part of Ireland, and this account was confirmed to me by several common Irish farmers I met with upon the road.[1]

I saw no beans in Ireland till I came here. They told me their crops were—barley and oats, six to twelve barrels; beans, eight to ten barrels. They use both marl and lime; of the former they lay 400 car-loads per acre, and it lasts twelve crops. Much of their wheat is sown on lays, marled and dunged, and the crops were very good. Potatoes not the food of the people the year through, as in other parts of Ireland; they live on them only in the winter, and have oatmeal the rest of the year. Barley is the crop that succeeds them.[2]

In these baronies Mr. Young found the farms ranging from twenty up to eighty acres, but many of them hired in partnership. These latter, he tells us, when the children married, were sub-divided into smaller portions. 'Rent of the two baronies, on an average a guinea,' in 1776.

The people are uncommonly industrious, and a most quiet race—in fifteen or twenty years there is no such thing as a robbery. The little farmers live very comfortably and happily, and many of them worth several hundred pounds. They are exceedingly attentive in getting mould out of the ditches and banks, to mix a little dung with it, and spread it on their land.[3]

The same district and its inhabitants are described as follows by the 'Times' Commissioner in 1869 :—

This community, after the lapse of centuries, retains clearly its individual mark; it is a colony on the verge of the land of a nation. The race has regularly intermarried within itself; Anglo-Norman and

[1] 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. i. p. 108.
[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 109.
[3] Ibid. vol. i. p. 112.

Flemish names abound; the men and women have no Celtic features; their dialect I should call an English *patois*. But what is most remarkable in this interesting district is the character of its husbandry and social life. The land is generally rather thin and cold, though there is abundance of seaweed for manure; but the agriculture is with rare exceptions admirable, and it has a look of neatness and care that I have not met in other parts of Ireland. The farms are for the most part small, from forty or fifty to ten acres; but, as a class, the holders are exceedingly prosperous, and many of them have considerable sums of money. The appearance of the dwellings is very striking; here and there you see excellent slated houses, but the most common habitations are ancient homesteads, thatched with exquisitely finished roofs of straw and brilliant with repeated layers of whitewash. I entered many of these pleasant homes, and was charmed with the degrees of comfort evident, with the old clocks, the tidy furniture, the quantities of linen, the prevailing cleanliness. I never saw anything like the whole district. I imagine it may have had its counterpart in some counties in England in the last century, before the growth of capital and manufactures broke up the system of small farms.

Is there not much in this most interesting description to remind us of Belgium—'the pleasant homes,' 'the evidences of comfort,' 'the old clocks,' 'the tidy furniture,' 'the prevailing cleanliness,' and above all, 'the agriculture, with rare exceptions, admirable'? Not that, in this last respect, even these baronies, with their farms ranging from ten up to fifty acres, and their 'admirable agriculture,' can be compared to that elsewhere unapproached perfection of husbandry, exhibited in the much smaller holdings of the Flemish farmers.[1]

The same accurate observer and accomplished writer continues:—

What are the causes of this prosperity, of this fragment of a happy form of life, let into the unlovely frame of society in Ireland? These people are, with hardly an exception, Catholics; so the offensive theory is at fault that resolves all the ills of Ireland into 'Popery.' I do not undervalue the influence of race; yet parts of Meath, where, as a rule, the peasantry are miserably poor, may not be less Anglicized than these

[1] See Chapter xxxii.

baronies. The farmers in Bargy and Forth enjoy security of tenure to a great extent, and have in numerous instances leases; yet I am not, I hope, so shallow as to think that this circumstance fully solves the problem. The paramount cause, I cannot doubt, is that in this instance, as so seldom has been the case in other parts of this country, the natural progress of the community has never been rudely checked or thrown back by ages of feuds and evil discord. In this instance, as has been beautifully written, 'Society which springs from the soil, and forms itself by the tillage of land, training its people to thrift and industry, ripening by centuries of time, and binding all orders and inequalities of rich and poor, master and servant, together in mutual dependence, mutual justice, and mutual charity, making even the idle to be thrifty and the powerful to be compassionate—this growth of human happiness and order has become symmetrical and mature' by a series of accidents in the district. Long may the little commonwealth flourish, long may it be before the hand of time brings change on these peaceful and happy homes, and when it does may it gradually evolve some higher and better form of existence.[1]

Surely we need not go far to ascertain 'the causes of this prosperity, of this fragment of a happy form of life let into the unlovely frame of society in Ireland.' Here we need not look to race, nor again to religion: for we have the plain fact, in itself all sufficient, that these people have held peaceful and undisturbed possession of their lands for seven centuries. If this could be said of the rest of Ireland, what a different country it would be!

The next example is from an adjoining county. About ten miles to the north-west of Waterford lies the estate of the Earl of Bessborough, a tract for six generations under the control of the Ponsonby family.

The family seems from an early time to have remembered, in the expressive phrase of Burke, that in Ireland it possessed a country, and in the last century to have put off the evil associations of Protestant ascendency, and it has long been distinguished for liberal sentiments, and kindly and genuine sympathy with the people. Its members, however, were usually absentees until a comparatively recent period; but after the events of 1846 the head of the House has lived regularly on

[1] Letter of the 'Times' Commissioner, dated Wexford, Sept 28, 1869.

his Irish estates some months in each year, and has devoted peculiar attention to it. I drove over a large part of the property, and was greatly pleased with much that I saw. From a gray square mansion with the adjoining park, a scene of cultivated taste and refinement, I passed into a village close by, a special object of the care of the proprietor. The neat houses and cleanly street had a look of thriving ease and comfort; but what struck me most were the dense rows of well-built and well-slated labourers' cottages, tokens of abundant and constant employment. From the village I went, by roads smooth as a floor, along a succession of trim farms, all in a state of admirable cultivation, until I reached a higher tract of land, where you met repeatedly the little homestead and plot of ground of the humble peasant, each, nevertheless, improved and in order. At last, from the top of a swelling eminence, commanding a prospect of rare beauty, the estate lay as in a map before me; and the view of the numerous rustic homes dotted thickly over the slope below, and clustering near the principal mansion as it rose from the midst of rich wood and lawn, was like an idyll of country happiness. The character of the husbandry was seen at a glance. It was a property of small holdings, kept, however, in a state of rare perfection, and evidencing no common or transient care.

Lord Bessborough's agent courteously gave me much information upon the manner in which this fair creation of industry and skill has been gradually brought into its present condition. Before 1846 the estate, though under gentle superiors, had been, comparatively, rather neglected. Part of it had fallen into the hands of middlemen, who had recklessly subdivided the lands, with no thought but to make profit from them, and there had been, accordingly, a great deal of poverty and a dense accumulation of population. I remember having casually paid a visit in those days to the place, and I recollect distinctly that at several spots you met whole villages of mud cabins, and that many of these habitations were wretched. The famine came, and Lord Bessborough solved the stern problem suddenly set before him of adjusting the property to the new state of things, not, as was the case with too many landlords, by inhuman 'clearances' and forced emigration, but by a happier and more natural process, which fortunately proved completely successful. Taking the population as he found it, he fostered it during the terrible crisis by liberal and judicious employment, and though he did not discourage emigration, and many of his dependents quitted their homes, not a single notice to quit was served, and not one family was capriciously evicted. By these means his poorer tenantry were preserved from the shock of the great revolution, and as the middlemen's

leases dropped in, he dealt directly with the subtenants, and treated them in the same gentle manner. The mould and organization of society were thus never broken up, but they were slowly transformed to a better type, and placed upon a more secure basis. The Bessborough estate is still one of small holdings, there being on an area of some 20,000 acres two farms only rented over 200*l.*, and 437 tenancies rented at from 20*l.* to 2*l.*, and 170 little crofts remain at a nominal rent of 1*l.* only. The whole community, however, is evidently flourishing, and, instead of presenting, as some persons would insist that it would inevitably present, an appearance of backwardness and decline, it displays all the marks of thriving prosperity. This result must, in the main, be ascribed to the management of the present proprietor. The mud cabins have disappeared, and have been replaced by excellent cottages, built wholly at the expense of the landlord; the dense population, in a great measure, has been kept together by productive employment; the little farmsteads have been gradually reformed by the judicious expenditure of the owner, encouraging the efforts of the occupiers: and, though the outlay has been very great, I believe it has been fairly remunerative, while it is unnecessary to dwell on the good social consequences. At this moment the Bessborough estate is a beautiful specimen of small farm husbandry promoted and stimulated by the proprietor, and of industry well directed and generously compensated. Lord Bessborough spends every year large sums in improving farm-houses, fences, and drains, in selling seed and manure at low prices to the occupiers in want of such aids, and in keeping his noble demesne in fine order. As I saw the results of this assiduous care in garden-like fields and happy homes, in the signs of comfort and triumphant industry, spreading from the valley to the high hill-top, I could not help thinking how different might have been the fate of this property in different hands, and how different at this moment would be the position of the land question of Ireland had all landlords followed a like course.

We are next told that, as Lord Bessborough manages his estate for the most part on the English plan, effecting the improvements himself, he does not allow the custom of tenant-right.

The judicious reflections that follow are just now deserving of especial notice:—

Yet, however pleasing at this time is the condition of the Bess-

borough estate, a thoughtful person will not forecast its future without some degree of misgiving. It is unquestionably in part an artificial growth, the result of the care of the proprietor; and the civilization that comes from above is not likely to be so permanent as that which increases from below, from the industry of generations of occupiers. The prosperity of the baronies of Bargy and Forth springs from the soil and is rooted in it; the prosperity of the Bessborough estate is the gift of one man, and may perish with him. Furthermore, it in a special manner depends largely upon the proprietor; for, though Lord Bessborough has given leases freely, is willing and anxious to give more, and has thus created security of tenure on a considerable portion of his estate, his very small tenants hold all at will, and it is difficult to contend that in these cases leases ought to be universally conceded. It is possible, therefore, that a new landlord might seriously interfere with the state of things that now exists upon this property; it is probable that, if he were harsh or illiberal, the prosperity due to fostering care would rapidly fade away and disappear; and though it is not likely that this would be the case during the continuance of the House of Ponsonby, it is, of course, a contingency that may happen.[1]

These extracts contain so much important evidence, so admirably expressed, and are so apposite to my argument, that I deem it unnecessary to offer any apology for their length.

Wholly irrespective of the mass of valuable information afforded on the all-absorbing topic of the day, if the visit of the 'Times' Commissioner had no other result than to bring prominently before the British public these two instances of how the Irish small farmer may thrive under what in England would be deemed ordinarily favourable circumstances, and how admirably suited to Ireland is the system which embraces a large proportion of small or moderately-sized farms, much indeed would have been done towards the solution of the Irish difficulty—a difficulty which, to be solved, must be thoroughly understood.[2]

[1] Letter of the 'Times' Commissioner, dated Waterford, Sept. 30, 1869.

[2] In this special Commission on the Irish Land Question, and that of 1845 on the same subject, and that on English Agriculture in 1850–51, the 'Times' has rendered invaluable service to the State—service the more to be appreciated, that such inquiries are sure to be efficiently carried out, and

CHAPTER XLVIII.

ERROR OF TAKING THE LARGE FARMS OF NORFOLK AND THE LOTHIANS AS A RULE FOR THE PROPORTION OF LABOUR TO BE EMPLOYED IN ALL FARMING—THIS RULE DOES NOT APPLY IN ENGLAND, MUCH LESS IN IRELAND—THE THEORY OF 500,000 CULTIVATORS FOR IRELAND APPLIED TO ENGLAND; IF CARRIED OUT, ENGLAND SHOULD REDUCE HER NUMBER OF CULTIVATORS FORTY PER CENT.—SIR ROBERT PEEL ON THE BACKWARD STATE OF FARMING IN ENGLAND IN 1850—A LARGE PROPORTION OF LAND UNDER GRASS IN IRELAND WHOLLY UNFIT FOR PERMANENT PASTURE—THE TENANT-AT-WILL HESITATES TO SINK HIS CAPITAL *IN* THE LAND; HE PREFERS SPREADING IT *ON* THE LAND—IMMENSE EXPENDITURE OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL REQUIRED TO BRING THE LAND OF IRELAND TO THE SAME IMPROVED STATE AS THAT OF GREAT BRITAIN—CONCLUSION, THAT IRELAND WAS RATHER UNDER THAN OVER HER DUE PROPORTION OF CULTIVATORS IN 1861.

In dealing with the question of the numbers required for the cultivation of the soil in Ireland, Lord Dufferin has evidently erred in taking as a rule for all farming the large farms of Norfolk and the Lothians. It is clear, from the foregoing figures, that even in England this rule cannot be generally applied. Indeed, in attempting to apply it, we should find that the number it indicates is nearly doubled by the general average. Much less is it applicable to Ireland. A farm of 500 acres can be worked by fewer hands than could be the same area if divided into ten farms averaging fifty acres; even as a 500 tons ship will require a smaller number of men than the aggregate of the captains and crews of ten vessels of fifty tons each. Besides, in the districts in question, where capital is abundantly employed in the perfection of high farming on a large scale, machinery and steam-power are used, as far as possible, to economise human labour. A steam plough and other machinery, costing from 1,200*l.* to 1,600*l.*, are all very well on a 600 or 800 acres farm of Norfolk or the Lothians, but they would be quite out of place, not to speak of their being economically

their results universally diffused, by that great journal, with its vast influence and resources.

impossible, on an Irish farm of thirty or forty acres. Moreover, in England and Scotland much of the land has already been brought to a state of high cultivation, whereas in Ireland an immense extent of drainage, deep-ploughing, and other indispensable preparation of the soil has yet to be carried out; all works involving a large amount of extra labour.

Nor must the fact be overlooked that, for a great many years, much of the harvest work of England has been done by Irish labourers, who, being at home when the Census was taken, namely in the month of April, are of course enumerated in the Class Agricultural of Ireland. The falling off in this annual immigration of Irish labour is latterly so much felt in certain districts, that it has been proposed, in the public journals, that Government should, where practicable, permit the troops to assist, at certain wages, in saving the English harvest, sometimes endangered for want of hands.

Let us now apply the test of figures to this extraordinary theory that '500,000 cultivators are sufficient for Ireland.' Distributed in the proportions of eight and one respectively in equal areas of tillage and pasture, the numbers will stand thus:—

	Acres	Cultivators
Tillage	5,571,352	408,347
Pasture	10,003,918	91,653
Total	15,575,270	500,000

Proceeding on the same scale for England and Wales, we have the following result:—

	Acres	Cultivators
Tillage	14,423,216	1,057,131
Pasture	11,119,211	101,871
Total	25,542,427	1,159,002

Thus, by this theory, England and Wales would be restricted to 1,159,002 cultivators. Of the 2,010,454 persons they actually employ in agriculture, and find barely sufficient, they should detach 851,452 and turn them over to other employments!

Is there any need of further dwelling on this strange pro-

position in the presence of the necessity which exists 'for the employment of those aids which the farmers of England call forth, with their large occupations and their scanty supply of human labour'?[1] Here we have 'fields of imposing extent, steadings like little towns, steam-engine chimneys sending forth the black smoke over the green fields;' in fact, all that can be devised 'to supply the insufficiency of human arms with the more powerful and untiring aid of mechanism.'[2] Here again we have a large area of demand for human labour in those districts of England which are yet far below the high standard of cultivation that each recurring year, with its great increase of mouths to be fed, renders more and more imperative. For even now, though not to the same extent, there are, as in 1850, several 'tracts of good land in certain counties (Lancashire and Cheshire for example), with good roads, good markets, and a moist climate, that remain pretty nearly in a state of nature, undrained, badly fenced, and wretchedly farmed.'[3] So that, even with every aid that mechanical science can afford, it is likely that the actual number of cultivators in England and Wales will, ere long, require to be considerably increased. Yet the theory propounded for Ireland would involve a reduction in these numbers of over forty per cent.![4]

But is it fair to base our calculation, as we have thus far based it, on the existing proportion of tillage and pasture land in Ireland as compared with England and Wales? Clearly, it

[1] Burn's 'Agricultural Tour in Belgium,' p. 21. Longmans, 1862.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Sir Robert Peel's Letter to Mr. Caird, January 6, 1850. 'English Agriculture,' preface, p. viii.

[4] It is true, that in some districts of England, the farmers employ, all the year round, rather more labourers than they would employ, were it not that they should otherwise contribute towards their support in poor rates. But, over the whole country, the numbers so employed do not approach to anything like an important proportion. To attain the high standard of cultivation desirable, as above referred to, would necessitate the employment of considerably more labour all the year round. As it is, in harvest, and other busy seasons, the difficulty is to get hands enough to do the work.

is not. In the exceptional state of Ireland there is an undue preponderance of pasture, and the tillage is, to a considerable extent, but very imperfectly effected. The Irish farmer, without security of tenure, naturally hesitates in many an instance to sink his capital *in* the land. He prefers, as far as possible, merely spreading it *on* the land, as in the latter case there is not that risk of losing his investment which there is in the former. Any one conversant with agriculture in Ireland will admit that there is a great deal of land there laid down in grass which is admirably suited for tillage and is quite unfit for permanent pasture, and that the labour and capital actually employed in the tillage of the country is, in the aggregate, far short of what it ought to be. All this, too, is wholly outside the consideration of the immense expenditure of capital and labour requisite to bring the soil to the same improved state as that of the sister island, work which in England is effected by the landlord, but which in Ireland the farmer is expected to do, but will not do, as long as he is only a tenant-at-will.

On the whole, then, it is clear that if England and Wales, with their comparatively large farms, improved soil, and abundant agricultural capital, required 2,010,454 cultivators on 25,542,427 acres of arable land in 1861, Ireland, with her exceptionally small farms, unimproved soil, and scanty capital, was rather under than over her due proportion in numbering 988,929 cultivators on 15,575,270 acres at the same period.

CHAPTER XLIX.

CONSIDERABLE DECREASE IN THE NUMBER OF CULTIVATORS IN IRELAND SINCE 1861—RATE OF AGRICULTURAL WAGES IN IRELAND; AVERAGE IN ULSTER; AVERAGE OUTSIDE ULSTER—UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR IN IRELAND; DIFFICULTY OF GETTING SPARE HANDS—WHY WAGES ARE NOT HIGHER IN IRELAND—HOW THE AGRICULTURAL GROSS PRODUCE, IF DOUBLED, WOULD BE DISTRIBUTED—THE THEORY THAT WOULD FURTHER REDUCE THE POPULATION A FATAL ERROR—SIMULTANEOUS INCREASE OF POPULATION, LABOUR, CAPITAL, AND WAGES, IN WELL-ORDERED STATES.

THUS far we have been dealing with the numbers in the year 1861. Since then there has been an increase of 1,326,736 in the population of England and Wales, and a decrease of 266,625 in that of Ireland, according to the estimates of the Board of Trade published at the close of 1868. I do not argue that this increase of over a million has added much to the agricultural population of England and Wales; but I affirm, as a simple matter of fact, that a large proportion of the decrease in Ireland has been among the agricultural classes. Indeed, I have seen it stated, not long since, by a leading Irish journal, and the statement is confirmed by my own observation, that nine-tenths of the emigrants from the south and west and the midland counties of Ireland were small farmers, farmers' sons and daughters, and farm-servants. Consequently, we may fairly estimate the present number of the class agricultural in Ireland at about 800,000, if not less, which is obviously very far short of her due proportion as compared with England and Wales.

But we are told that the wages of labour are too low in Ireland, and that until they are raised to their proper standard the reduction in the population must go on. The ordinary wages of permanently-employed agricultural labourers in the North of Ireland are an average of 8*s.* 3*d.* a week, and in the midland counties and south and west 7*s.* 6*d.*, where diet is not given.[1]

[1] In a tour through Ireland, during the past summer (1869), I inquired particularly about the rate of wages in the several districts, and the above

With this the tendency is decidedly upwards. It is but right to add that of late, owing to emigration, labour outside of Ulster is very unevenly distributed in Ireland, and the wages of casual labourers are anything but uniform. In harvest sometimes it is all but impossible to get extra hands, 2*s.* 6*d.* per day and diet being then the minimum rate of remuneration; and instances have occurred lately of farmers in the south of Ireland offering 12*s.* a week with diet for labourers in spring, and being unable to procure them.[1] Indeed, the scarcity of labour has already begun seriously to affect the tillage of the country, and, with the continuous depletion, this will be felt every year more and more, so that an increase in the number of small holdings, independent of hired labour—that is, manageable by the occupier and his family—is likely to become an imperative necessity.

Agricultural wages in Ireland are certainly much higher than they were some twenty years ago, when 6*d.* to 8*d.* a day was the general rate; but the most that can be said is, that they now approximate those of the southern districts of England, in which there does not appear to be much change since Mr. Caird wrote his letters on English agriculture in 1850–51. We there find the weekly wages stated as ranging from 14*s.* in the West Riding and 13*s.* 6*d.* in Lancashire, down to 7*s.* in Gloucester, Suffolk, and South Wilts, the average of all the northern counties being 11*s.* 6*d.*, of the southern counties 8*s.* 5*d.*, and over the whole 9*s.* 6*d.*

How, then, is it that, with such a diminution of her agri-

figures are the results of my inquiries, *reduced to an average.* Outside of Ulster there was a general complaint everywhere of the scarcity and dearness of labour. Even female farm-servants, formerly abundant, are now in some districts very difficult to be procured. Where the labourers are fed by the farmer, a proportionate deduction from the above figures must be made.

[1] How different the case was formerly. A farmer, of the barony of Imokilly, in the east riding of the County of Cork, told me lately that twenty years ago he used to have several labourers coming to him and offering their services merely for their food, without any money payment, but that now he cannot get *casual* labourers at two shillings a day and diet.

cultural population, the wages[1] of farm labourers in Ireland are not considerably higher? The cause is simply that which renders Irish emigration a necessity, and will continue to do so until removed—namely, the anomalous position of the agriculture of the country. Labour and capital are not freely brought into contact with the land. That they should be is manifestly the interest of the landlord as well as of the tenant and agricultural labourer. Some authorities are of opinion that the agricultural produce of Ireland might be increased threefold—some even fourfold—by adopting the Belgian system, but all agree that it might certainly be doubled. It is a self-evident proposition that in this case the land would be greatly enhanced in value, and that so the landlord would participate in the benefit as well as the labourer and the farmer: that is, the increased produce would be distributed in additions to the three items of rent, wages, and profit. Obviously the distribution would not be equal in all. It would be very large in the profit on capital, now a comparatively small item, so short of what it ought to be is the capital invested. It would be very large also in the wages of labour, capital being the fund, the only fund, from which wages are furnished, and, though least, it would be considerable in the item of rent. Rent, too, would be much more cheerfully and more punctually, because more easily, paid.[2]

The theory that would further reduce the population of Ire-

[1] In comparing the wages of both countries, we must take into account the other remuneration besides money payment enjoyed in many instances by the English labourer, such as a small allotment of land, enabling him to live near his work, and supplying milk and food towards the support of his family.

[2] In Chapter lii., I quote an instance of a four-fold increase of gross produce resulting from a four-fold increase of expenditure on a farm in Scotland, resembling many of our Irish farms in the circumstances of site, soil, and climate. In this case the exact figures are given of the distribution of the gross produce under the old system and under the new. Under the latter, the increase of rent is 75 per cent.; the increase of the sum expended in wages nearly 200 per cent.; and the increase of profit to the farmer close on 300 per cent. See Chapter lii.

land in order to improve the condition of the country is a fatal error. The great reduction that has already taken place has had but little effect in that way, and a further reduction would assuredly produce no less unfavourable results. The remedy of depletion, an extreme remedy doubtless, has already been fully tried, and has signally failed. Notwithstanding, there are some thinking men who prescribe, perhaps in desperation, that the blood-letting should still go on. They argue that Ireland should be allowed to decline in population and wealth until her labour and capital are on a par with her present low productive industry. Far better increase the demand for labour and capital—raise it to the level of the supply. Medical men do not reduce sustenance to the lowest point in order to give as little to do as possible to an impaired digestion. They rather aim at improving the general health and bringing the system up to its work. There is a wide difference between starving a patient down to all but inanition and elevating the vital powers and restoring the functions of vigorous health. As it is in the human subject so ought it to be in the body politic.

Were the economic condition of Ireland what it ought to be her present population would be far from sufficient, and, with an increased population, the rate of wages would certainly be half again what it is now. In well-ordered States, up to a point far above the present population of Ireland, in an equal area, and with certainly not greater natural advantages, wages increase with population; for, in well-ordered states, population is labour; capital, as we have seen, is saved labour, and capital, the only fund from which wages are furnished, cannot be increased or even preserved unless it is employed as the wages of labour. If so employed, it will be reproduced with an increase, and the country will prosper. If not so employed, it will cease to be capital, at least within the country: it will either be consumed without being reproduced or it will be employed as capital elsewhere. It will be so much lost to the country absolutely in the one case, or as an instrument of production in the other.

CHAPTER L.

THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION OF IRELAND MIGHT AT LEAST BE DOUBLED; THIS, NOW, MORE AN IMPERIAL THAN AN IRISH QUESTION—IRELAND'S DIFFICULTY HENCEFORWARD, SCARCITY OF LABOUR SUPPLY—THE CONDITION OF THE SMALL FARMER AND AGRICULTURAL LABOURER, IN NEED OF IMPROVEMENT—THE EVILS OF THE UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR IN IRELAND IN A GREAT MEASURE INCREASED BY THE POOR-LAW RATING BY ELECTORAL DIVISIONS; RATING BY UNIONS PREFERABLE; A BETTER SYSTEM IN ENGLAND—INSTANCES OF THE CARE TAKEN OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS BY CERTAIN LARGE PROPRIETORS IN ENGLAND; GARDEN ALLOTMENTS TO LABOURERS STRONGLY RECOMMENDED; MORAL AS WELL AS MATERIAL GOOD RESULTS OF LANDLORDS CONSULTING FOR THE COMFORT OF THE LABOURERS ON THEIR ESTATES.

THAT the agriculture of Ireland stands much in need of improvement, that such a system of cultivation might be introduced as would at least double the production of the country, is universally admitted. Having regard to the annually increasing number of mouths to be fed in England, we cannot but conclude that this has now become more an Imperial than an Irish question. The great difficulty of Ireland henceforward will be want of labour—a difficulty to be promptly met; for if we do not grapple with it promptly, we shall be too late. That difficulty can now be met only by rooting labour in the soil; by giving the husbandman a stake in the country; by combining landlord and capitalist in one, as opportunities offer; by encouraging and promoting, by all practicable means, the improvement of the condition of the agricultural labourer; and, above all things, by rendering capital embarked in farming as secure to its owner as if it were embarked in trade.

As long as the small farmer and agricultural labourer of Ireland are in their present position—the one without a secure tenure of his land, the other much less cared for than the beasts of the field, not getting even a resting-place on the land he tills, but driven, with his family, to a hovel in the nearest village, so long will both gladly avail of the opportunity to emi-

grate—an opportunity which, in due time, is sure to arise for even the poorest, owing to the strong family affection of those of their kindred who have gone before them, to turn their labour to account at the other side of the Atlantic. So far is Ireland at present from being overstocked with agricultural labour, it may safely be affirmed she is much below Great Britain in this respect, and the disparity will be, every year, becoming greater. The Census of 1871 will reveal a startling diminution in the effective labour power of the country.

The inconveniences arising from the uneven distribution of labour in Ireland are much increased by the present unjust and unfair system of poor-law rating, by electoral divisions, instead of by unions. The direct result of this system is that landlords, in order to save rates to their own electoral divisions, drive the labourers and their families off their lands, and thus compel them to settle in the towns; the rates of the divisions in which these towns are situated being often twice, three, and sometimes four times as much as those of the adjoining electoral divisions of the same union. A change in the law, imposing an uniform rate on each entire union, would, some years ago, have been most efficacious in remedying this serious evil. Even now, in the eleventh hour, it would have a highly beneficial effect.

In England, where a better system prevails, the results are more satisfactory; and the farmers and landlords give as much employment as they can to agricultural labourers, thereby saving rates, promoting the agricultural improvement of the country, and securing a more even distribution of labour.

As experience now proves, there could have been no more fatal mistake than the clearing system, so steadily pursued by Irish landlords for the last twenty years, and their total neglect, generally speaking, to provide for the comfort of the agricultural labourer. Should a serious fall take place in the price of meat, necessitating a return to tillage, they will pay dearly for this short-sighted policy.

In England we have several gratifying instances of a con-

trary policy, attended by the happiest results, not alone to the labourer, but to the landlord himself.

Thus, on the Earl of Beverley's estate, in the township of Airmyn, Yorkshire—

The labourers who live in the village have each a house and garden, and a 'cow-gate,' which comprises one acre and a half of the best pasture land in the district, and adjoining the village, and one acre and a half of mowing ground for winter food at the very moderate payment, for house and 'cow-gate,' of 7*l.* a year. The owner, with the clergyman and farmers of the township, has united with the labourers in establishing a 'cow club,' the funds of which are employed in replacing any of the labourers' cows which may die by accident or disease. The farmers live at moderate rents; they farm well, and give employment to all the labourers; the rates are kept low, and, by the wise and judicious management sanctioned by the proprietor, a bond of union and good feeling, such as is too seldom met with, extends through all classes in this township.[1]

The lettings to labourers ought to be, as far as possible, direct from the head landlord, in order to avoid the evils which sometimes arise from the exorbitant rents charged by farmers under the allotment system in England. For example, we are told that, in Oxfordshire,[2] allotments for labourers are let at rents varying from 2*l.* to 3*l.*, and as much as 4*l.* an acre.

As the labourer must pay his rent before he reaps his crop, he is frequently obliged to borrow it from his master in advance of his wages, and this leads to jealousy and bad feeling between master and servant. A piece of garden ground in the neighbourhood of their cottages would be much more beneficial to the labourer.

On the Duke of Bedford's extensive estate of Woburn, cottages are built for the labourers in numbers sufficient to suit the wants of the different farms, and are held directly from the Duke, from week to week. They are built in a substantial form, with four or five rooms each, and every convenience; the site being so chosen as 'to combine the advantages of a genial, airy exposure with a plentiful supply of water.' Field allotments, from an eighth to a quarter of an acre, are provided for

[1] Caird's 'English Agriculture,' 1850-51, p. 301. [2] Ibid. p. 29.

each cottage, at a rate varying from 20s. to 40s. an acre, inclusive of rates, the rent of the cottages being 1s. to 1s. 6d. per week, paid half-yearly, with great regularity.[1] What a contrast is all this to the crying evils of the gang-system of agricultural labourers in other districts of England!

I have already referred to the pleasing fact of there being an increase of 20 per cent. in the five years from 1861 to 1866, in the number of labourers' allotments, averaging half an acre, in Ireland. Not to speak of higher motives, there can be no greater mistake, in a mere pecuniary point of view, than altogether sweeping off the face of the land those by whom it is to be tilled. Our horses and cattle are comfortably housed and fed, through purely economic motives. Are our agricultural labourers less worthy of care—even on the same grounds? A man, who has to walk some miles to his work in the morning, and return the same distance to the village at evening, cannot labour as well as if he lived on the land. But, unfortunately, after the famine years, the natural apprehension of heavy poor-rates, required to support the families of useless squatters on the land, caused the clearing system to be carried much too far. Some twenty years ago, walking over an Irish estate with the agent, I heard him say, pointing to two labourers' cottages, 'We must get rid of these: they are only breeding cages.' Accordingly, the people were ejected and driven to the village about two miles off; although it appeared to me that they might very well have remained in their neat little cottages (which were immediately unroofed) where they had lived for many years, getting occasional employment from the farmers around. I may add that the property was fine tillage land, and by no means over peopled. Even in Ireland there are pleasing exceptions to the general rule of the neglect of the comfort of the agricultural labourer. In the neighbourhood of Killarney, the labourers' cottages, erected by Lord Castlerosse and Mr. Herbert, as well as those built by other enlightened proprietors, in some

[1] Caird's 'English Agriculture,' pp. 437, 438.

other quarters, are an agreeable relief to the eye of the tourist, who meets so many evidences of neglect in this respect in travelling through Ireland.[1]

It is an excellent system to allow labourers to have a small portion of land to cultivate as a garden. Many landed proprietors and agents seem to think that the system is not a good one—that the allotments are generally badly cultivated, and that the labourers often neglect their daily work to attend to their gardens. This may have been the case in some instances; but my own experience leads me to state that it is a good system to allow a labourer to have a garden or allotment. He generally takes an interest in his garden; he prides himself in keeping it tidy and clean, and tries to outstrip his neighbours in producing good crops. . . . Where a labouring man has a garden to attend to, it generally keeps him at home from the public house and from poaching. In it, also, his children receive their first lessons in the cultivation of the soil; and I certainly think that the proprietor is looking to his own interests when he sees that each of his cottagers has a small garden.

The garden should not be large—not more than one-fourth of an acre. This will be found sufficient for one man to keep properly with profit to himself. It should be drained for him, and he should be guaranteed some compensation, should anything occur to cause him to give up possession of the garden.[2]

There are some praiseworthy examples of landed proprietors in England, who have recently established reading-rooms on their own home-farms for the improvement of the workmen, and night schools, in operation each winter, where the young men are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic chiefly.[3] Would that such examples were generally followed! Besides promoting intelligence and good conduct among the workmen, they must naturally create in their minds a feeling of respect and gratitude towards their employers, and strengthen that bond of sympathy which should subsist between the lord of the soil and every one living on his estate.

[1] We have already seen, in Chapter xlvii., what Lord Bessborough has done for the comfort of the labourers on his admirably managed estate in the county of Waterford.

[2] 'Book of the Landed Estate,' p. 291. [3] Ibid. p. 288.

CHAPTER LI.

HOW THE INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE COMMUNITY ARE INVOLVED IN THE LAND QUESTION—MAIN OBJECT OF AGRICULTURE—WHY GOD GAVE MAN THE LAND—HOW LAND DIFFERS FROM OTHER PROPERTY—TOTAL AREA OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS RESPECTIVELY, AND IN THE AGGREGATE; ARABLE AREA; NUMBER OF LANDED PROPRIETORS; POPULATION—PRESENT POPULATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES PER ARABLE ACRE; THE SAME OF IRELAND; THE SAME OF THE UNITED KINGDOM—HOW THE STATE IS BOUND TO PROMOTE THE FULL DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES OF THESE ISLANDS—RESULTS OF IMPROVED CULTURE IN ENGLAND—MR. BLACKER'S LAUDABLE AND SUCCESSFUL EXERTIONS TO IMPROVE AGRICULTURE IN IRELAND; HIS PRINCIPLES OF FARMING; HIS PREFERENCE OF SMALL FARMS, AS MOST SUITABLE TO THE COUNTRY—A VERY LARGE PROPORTION OF THE LAND OF IRELAND WHOLLY UNFIT FOR PERMANENT PASTURE—RESULTS OF MR. BLACKER'S SYSTEM IN THE COUNTY OF ARMAGH; PRODUCE THEREBY INCREASED THREEFOLD.

But in considering this question of labour supply, and indeed the whole of what is commonly called the land question, we must not confine ourselves exclusively to the interests of landlord, tenant, and agricultural labourer. There are interests which, while they comprise, are paramount to, these—namely, the interests of the community at large. Having regard to these paramount interests, we cannot but see that it is of the utmost importance to a populous country of very limited area, like Great Britain—a country, too, which is rapidly growing in population—that every rood of her available land should be turned to the best account. The main object of agriculture is to produce food for the community. For this purpose, and not to gratify the caprices of a few, God has given us the land. Here is intended no disparagement of what may strictly be called the rights of property; but no erroneous notions about the rights of property can justify the locking up, in unproductiveness, of that which God destined to abound with fruits for the sustenance of all, and which, if cultivated as it ought to be

by man's labour, will repay that labour many fold, and greatly enrich, among others, the recognised legal owners of the soil. In this respect I believe all authorities agree, land differs from other property, that its ownership by the few is, in a certain sense, in trust for the benefit of the many. We may lock up ten thousand sovereigns in our iron safe, and allow them to remain there for years; or we may cast one thousand bales of cotton, being our own, into the sea; but we ought not to be permitted to allow one thousand acres of arable land to lie waste, season after season, to our own loss and that of the community. This, no doubt, it will be said, is putting the case in an extreme light; but nevertheless it applies to many districts in Ireland, undrained and uncultivated, as may be seen by the traveller along any of the Irish railways—districts, too, which if properly farmed would bear the most luxuriant crops. Gold and cotton may be had in unlimited supply, but practically land is limited. The Rothschilds and the Barings, with their great resources, may command immense supplies of merchandise and the precious metals, but they cannot add one rood to the area of the British islands. That area, comprising 77,286,901 statute acres, of which 45,530,964 are at present used as arable, and belonging to 43,683 landed proprietors, bears a population of no less than 30,369,845 souls.[1]

———	Total Area Statute Acres	Under Crops and Grass Statute Acres	Landed Proprietors	Estimated Population in 1868
England and Wales	37,324,883	25,542,427	32,000	21,649,377
Scotland . .	19,639,377	4,413,267	2,183	3,188,125
Ireland . . .	20,322,641	15,575,270	9,500	5,532,343
Total . .	77,286,901	45,530,964	43,683	30,369,845

[1] For total area, and area under crops and grass, and for estimated population in 1868, see 'Board of Trade Agricultural Returns' for 1868, pp. 10 and 11. For number of landed proprietors, see census of 1861, viz. 40,661, to which are added 3,022 for those absent at the time of taking the census. See Chapter xxiii.

At the present rate of progress, the population of England and Wales promises ere long to mount to an individual for every acre of land now under crops and grass; while, on the other hand, that of Ireland will very soon have declined to an individual for every three such acres. Over the United Kingdom the present area is an acre and a half of arable land to each inhabitant.

With so great a population to so limited an area, it must be obvious to the reflecting mind, that, carefully avoiding all undue interference with the rights of the owners of the soil, the State ought to do all that can be done by judicious legislation, to encourage, promote, and absolutely insure the full development of the agricultural resources of these islands. How far and in what manner the State may interfere for so desirable an end we shall discuss farther on. Of how much may be done, by improved farming, towards increasing our supplies of home-grown food, let us take the following examples:—

The farm of Mr. Hudson, of Castleacre,[1] on Lord Leicester's estate (Holkham, Norfolk), is between 1,400 and 1,500 acres in extent, held in two adjoining occupations of nearly equal size. About 1,200 acres are regularly under crop, and somewhat over 200 acres in pasture. The four-course rotation is followed throughout, there being annually 300 acres in wheat, 300 acres in barley, 300 acres in turnips, &c., and 300 acres in clover and trefoil and white clover alternately. No rye grass is sown with the clovers, as, being a cereal, it is considered injurious to the following wheat crop.

The principle adopted here is to manure for *every* crop. Thus, for the wheat, eight three-horse loads of dung are laid on the clover after it is mown. This promotes a rapid growth of clover, which is ploughed in for the wheat crop. Salt is sown over it in spring, to strengthen the straw. Turnips are manured partly with dung and partly with artificial manures, 25*s*. an acre being expended for this purpose in guano and Lawe's superphosphate. A large proportion of the turnips are consumed on the ground by sheep, which are also cake-fed, and the soil is thus prepared for barley. The land is covered with clay marl once in a lease

[1] I quote this in full, as Castleacre is the model farm of the Norfolk system in England.

of twenty-one years. In the feeding of stock ten tons a week of oil-cake are consumed during the winter, in addition to the green crops and herbage of the farm; Mr. Hudson never using less than 200 tons of cake in a year, and sometimes considerably more. Each bullock gets ten lbs. of cake a day, besides roots; and each fatting sheep on an average three-quarter lb., beginning with half lb., and ending with one lb. daily. The cattle are fed in open courts with sheds, well littered with straw. . . .

Twenty-seven years ago the stock annually kept on this farm was 400 sheep and 30 bullocks; it now averages 2,500 sheep, and 150 bullocks. The wheat and barley crops then did not exceed 22½ bushels an acre; that average is now nearly doubled. Every crop is drilled, and the land kept perfectly clean. The roads and fences are all maintained in the best order; and the beauty and regularity of all the crops now growing on the farm sufficiently attest the enterprise and skill of the farmer.[1]

Over thirty years ago was published a very able and interesting pamphlet by Mr. Blacker, in which he argues, from his own long experience in the management of land in Ireland, that, by 'an improved system of agriculture, and a regular rotation of crops,' the agricultural production of the country might be more than doubled. Mr. Blacker was an Irish gentleman of good family and good fortune, who, for some twenty years of the first half of this century, devoted himself to the improvement, moral and physical, of the people of Ireland. His principles of farming were precisely those most calculated to check unhealthy emigration, and to promote such emigration as might be necessary and beneficial. Mainly for those useful objects, he held large land agencies in the counties of Armagh and Cavan, and, so far as his influence went, he was entirely successful. His principle was, that the system of small farms was that most suited to Ireland, and that, under it, properly carried out, a greater amount of produce could be secured than in any other way; while, more than that, no other system promoted in an equal degree the morality and the happiness of so

[1] Caird's 'English Agriculture,' pp. 167–9.

great a number. His beau ideal was the Belgian rather than the Lothian farm:—[1]

By far the greater part of the land in Ireland, as far as my experience goes, is land which, from the nature of the soil and climate, reverts to 'fog' or moss if left for many years uncultivated. Now for this Mr. Blacker's mode of cultivation is peculiarly adapted. His rotation of crops was the four-course for lighter land, viz. potatoes and turnips, grain, grass mowed, grass grazed, and corn again, or flax, in succession; while according to his plan of house feeding, two acres of land would keep three head of cattle all the year round. Now I believe, for I have seen it, that this system of agriculture is exactly suited to the soil and climate of the greater part of Ireland. It produces the greatest amount of crop suited to the climate, and the least of that better raised elsewhere, and for which cattle produce can be exchanged.[2]

We are further informed that 'it was the aim and object of Mr. Blacker's life to promote this system of culture in farms *proportioned in size to the capital of the holders*, and by means of their capital, viz. their Irish bone and muscle, if they had no more. He promoted, more than any man I ever knew, the solid prosperity of those whom he could influence.'[3]

Let us hear Mr. Blacker himself on the subject. I quote him simply for the results of his valuable practical experience, as to the great increase of produce attainable by a good system of farming, and I do not follow him in his calculations as to the greatly increased population that this improved system might support; as that question has been altogether altered by the potato failure, which followed closely the publication of his pamphlet. He takes as his standard the county of Armagh, and argues from it, by analogy, as to the whole of Ireland. Speaking of Armagh, he writes:—

I would say, from a pretty general knowledge of it, that under an improved system of agriculture, and a regular rotation of crops, the

[1] 'Who is Blacker?' Speech of Sir Robert Peel, February 24, 1865. By Viscount Lifford, p. 10.

[2] Ibid. p. 12. [3] Ibid. p. 13.

produce would be *treble* of what it yields at present, and I think this may be considered as practically proved, if I can show farmers, possessing land of average quality, who, being induced to change their manner of cultivation in the way already described, are now receiving fully treble produce from the identical same farms to what it formerly yielded.

CHAPTER LII.

FURTHER RESULTS OF IMPROVED CULTURE—A FOURFOLD INCREASE OF EXPENDITURE RESULTING IN A FOURFOLD INCREASE OF GROSS PRODUCE; DISTRIBUTION OF THE GROSS PRODUCE, SHOWING THE PROPORTIONS OF RENT, WAGES, AND PROFIT UNDER THE OLD SYSTEM; THE SAME UNDER THE NEW OR IMPROVED SYSTEM—JUDICIOUS LAND-IMPROVEMENT THE MOST REMUNERATIVE INVESTMENT FOR PROPRIETORS, AND FOR TENANTS SECURE OF THEIR HOLDINGS—INSTANCES OF HIGH PERCENTAGE ON MONEY SO INVESTED.

In his pamphlet, 'High Farming under liberal Covenants,'[1] Mr. Caird gives us an instance of a fourfold annual increase of produce, resulting from an improved state of farming, on the farm of Auchness, on the bay of Luce in Wigtonshire, within a few miles of the southernmost point of Scotland; and the case is the more apposite on account of the climate, the nature of the soil, and the kind of crops most suitable being analogous to those of many districts in Ireland. The farm consists of 260 acres of arable land, 30 of which are reclaimed moss, 40 black, moorish soil, intermixed with white sand, 125 light, sandy soil—better adapted for wheat than for barley or oats, when in a high state of cultivation—and 65 acres of superior red turnip soil.[2] The leading principle developed on this farm is a greater reliance on *green crops, grass, and forage,* as contradistinguished from *corn,* but by no means exclusive of corn. In connection with this our attention is directed to 'the prosecution of a high system of farming, which enlarges the field of labour and its

[1] Blackwood, 1850.

[2] 'High Farming under liberal Covenants,' p. 7.

remuneration, leads to the accumulation and economy of manure, and affords the means of applying it to the crops in a far more liberal manner than has heretofore been thought either necessary or advantageous.'[1]

The results of this system will be best understood by a comparison of it with the old system it replaced. In ten years the extent of land in wheat has been doubled, while the yield has been increased from 20 to 36 bushels per imperial acre; the extent in oats remains the same, while the yield per acre has been doubled; the extent in turnips has been increased seven times (from 8 to 55 acres), each acre producing at least double the former crop; the extent in potatoes has been increased from 15 to 55 acres annually, with a great additional increase per acre; whilst the land now appropriated to summer feeding, soiling, and grazing, though not one half the extent of that under the old system, keeps much more than double the former stock.[2]

The main source of this increased productiveness is the preference given by Mr. McCulloch to the cultivation of green crops, and to *the extraordinary quantity of manure* he applies to those green crops. Under the old system, about three-fourths of the land in tillage were in grain, one-fourth only being in drilled green crops. Under the new system, little more than two-fifths are in grain, while nearly three-fifths are annually appropriated to drilled green crops. We have here practically exemplified an idea which has been gradually gaining ground in the minds of thinking farmers—that green crops are likely, henceforth, to be the main stay of the agriculturists of this country.[3]

Reduced to money, the comparison stands thus:—

EXPENDITURE.

	Old System £	s.	d.	New System £	s.	d.
Rent, including interest on landlord's expenditure in improvements	152	0	0	262	0	0
Labour	142	8	0	417	3	8
Manures and food purchased	0	0	0	526	0	0
Total Expenditure	294	8	0	1,205	3	8

[1] 'High Farming under liberal Covenants,' p. 6. [2] Ibid. p. 25.
[3] Ibid. pp. 25–26.

PRODUCE.

	Formerly £ s. d.	At Present £ s. d.
Total value of Crop and Stock together annually produced on the land . .	642 0 0	2,518 0 0

Here we have a fourfold increase of expenditure and a fourfold increase of gross produce. The gross produce is thus distributed. Three times as much is dispensed in the wages of labour as before, the landlord receives an increase of 75 per cent. on his rent, and the farmer has nearly four times as much profit as formerly, viz. 1,313*l.* against 348*l.*[1] Moreover, 2*l.* per acre are annually expended on manures and food for stock, on which one penny was not expended under the old system. In a word, landlord, capitalist, and labourer, all derive great advantages from the improved culture, while the soil is permanently enriched and enabled to produce four times as much food for the community as before.

Obviously there is no more remunerative investment for landlords, or tenants secure in their holdings, than a judicious outlay in the improvement and culture of their land. This is best seen in specific instances such as the above, which are far more to the point than mere general assertions.

In the 'Book of the Landed Estate'[2] (p. 3) we are told of a farm of 340 acres in Yorkshire originally let at 425*l.*, or 1*l.* 5*s.* an acre. The lease having expired, the proprietor very properly took the farm into his own hands for improvement. The farmhouse and buildings were remodelled, all the wet parts of the farm were thoroughly drained, and about 100 acres were trenched in order to deepen parts of the land and remove stones from it. In a word, no expense was spared that modern experience could suggest for its improvement. The total outlay was 2,960*l.*, or nearly 9*l.* an acre. After having the farm in his own hands three years, and having got it into the best possible

[1] From these two items must be deducted the cost of seeds and incidentals, necessarily a larger amount under the new system, but not materially affecting the proportions of profit.

[2] By Robert E. Brown. Blackwood, 1869.

condition for a tenant, the proprietor let it on a nineteen years' lease for 900*l.* a year, or close on 2*l.* 13*s.* per acre. Here he had an increase of 475*l.* rent, or over 15 per cent. per annum interest on his money invested in improvements.

Let us take another instance, from the same writer, of the improved value of land by a judicious outlay upon it, but of a different description from the case already given:—

> A small farm on an estate under my management was, in 1862, let for a sum of 32*l.* It extends to thirty-three acres of arable land, five acres of meadow, and twenty-two acres of rough pasture. The fences upon it were in a wretched state, and the buildings were very bad, and not sufficient for the requirements of the place. The land was also very poor, and in a dirty condition. The tenant left the farm a bankrupt.[1]

Does not all this look more like Ireland than Yorkshire? Mr. Brown took the farm into his own management for two years, had the land thoroughly cleaned and put into good condition, the fences improved, and the buildings remodelled, with some additions. The total outlay on improvements was 344*l.*, and the farm was let to a good tenant at a yearly rent of 65*l.* Here the rent was doubled, the increase being equal to 9½ per cent. interest on the money expended on improvements. The commercial value of the farm was also doubled.

[1] 'Book of the Landed Estate,' p. 4.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE EXTENSION OF IMPROVED AGRICULTURE OUGHT TO BE THE SPECIAL CARE OF GOVERNMENT—WHY NOT HAVE A BOARD OF AGRICULTURE PRESIDED OVER BY A CABINET MINISTER, AS WE HAVE A BOARD OF TRADE?—OUR CORN AND CATTLE OUGHT TO INCREASE TOGETHER—NEGLECT OF TILLAGE UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE; ITS NEGLECT IN IRELAND—IMPORTS OF FOREIGN BREAD-STUFFS INTO IRELAND; THE SAME INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM—COMPARISON OF IMPORTS OF RAW PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES FROM FRANCE INTO ENGLAND, AND OF EXPORTS OF THE SAME FROM ENGLAND TO FRANCE, BEFORE AND AFTER THE COMMERCIAL TREATY OF 1860; THE RESULT GREATLY IN FAVOUR OF FRANCE—GREAT BRITAIN SUFFERS MORE THAN THE CONTINENT FROM STRIKES—AN ARGUMENT THAT SHE OUGHT NOT TO RELY TOO MUCH ON HER SUPREMACY IN MANUFACTURES—IMPORTANT EVIDENCE BEFORE THE TRADES UNIONS COMMISSION—NECESSITY OF GREAT BRITAIN DEVELOPING HER AGRICULTURAL AS WELL AS HER MANUFACTURING RESOURCES.

THIS improved system of farming is of so much consequence to the community at large that its general extension ought to be the special care of Government. We have a Board of Trade, presided over by a Cabinet Minister. Why not have a Board of Agriculture, of which the president would also be a member of the Cabinet? and why not, under this board, have such machinery for practical instruction in drainage, rotation of crops, and agriculture generally, as works so advantageously in other countries? There is a complete concurrence of opinion among writers of authority on the subject, that, generally speaking, the agriculture of these countries is far below the standard that is desirable, with the present rapidly increasing population. Many will be found to agree with Mr. Mechi, that our corn and cattle ought to increase together, and that this increase ought to be insured by improved farming rather than by an increased breadth devoted to cereals. As it is, on the whole, we confine ourselves too much to the producing of meat, and we rest content with this, depending to too great an extent on the foreigner for our corn food. Such was the fatal error of

the Roman empire, which drew largely on remote provinces for its food supplies. The consequence was, those supplies were necessarily more costly and more precarious than if home-grown, agriculture was neglected, the hardy tillers of the soil at home decreased, and extensive tracts of land, such as the Campagna, went back into a state of nature, even as now considerable tracts of fine tillage land in Ireland are reverting to moss and furze, while Ireland imports in the year 6,000,000*l.* worth of foreign bread-stuffs.[1]

It has been said, with truth, that cattle rearing, in a proper system of rotation of roots and cereals, is an unmixed good; but that cattle rearing on mere pasture exclusively, as in Ireland, is an unmixed evil. This is wholly irrespective of the question which naturally arises, especially as regards Ireland—Are we prudent in putting all our eggs into one basket? It is to be feared we are not, as we should find to our cost should a murrain extensively visit these countries.

We have been importing corn food from foreign countries into the United Kingdom, at an average cost of over 28,000,000*l.* for the last ten years. In 1866 the cost was 30,000,000*l.*, and in 1867, 41,000,000*l.*

The following is the computed real value of the wheat and wheat-flour, and all other corn and flour imported into the United Kingdom, for each year, 1858 to 1867 inclusive:—

1858	£20,152,641
1859	18,042,063
1860	31,671,918
1861	34,918,639
1862	37,772,194

[1] Irish imports of foreign bread-stuffs in 1867—

		Valued at
Corn . . .	2,247,090 quarters . .	£5,928,742
Wheatmeal or flour	182,114 cwts. . .	177,164

In the same year she imported from Great Britain, of native and foreign growths, 484,309 quarters, valued at 1,141,171*l.*; but, against this, she exported to great Britain 735,611 quarters (of which 674,103 were oats) valued at 1,018,083*l.*

1863	£25,955,939
1864	19,881,161
1865	20,724,115
1866	30,045,984
1867	41,364,134
Average	£28,052,878[1]

The greater part of this expenditure (fully two-thirds) was for wheat and wheat-flour, of the imports of which we retained for home consumption in 1867, 37,983,631 cwt., being 141·06 lbs. or about 1¼ cwt. per head of the population.[2]

We must not by any means underrate the advantage of being able to draw thus largely upon foreign supplies—an advantage strongly evidenced by the above figures. For instance, with our deficient harvests in the three successive wet seasons, 1860, 1861, and 1862, we should have been badly off if we were not able to import foreign corn, even though at an average cost of 34,784,583*l.* each year, for the three years. But surely we ought to grow a great deal of this food at home, where our doing so is not merely economically possible, but would be highly profitable; for we have a mine of wealth yet unworked in the soil of many districts of the United Kingdom, which, by thorough drainage and good culture, might be made to bear most remunerative crops.

It may be said we give the foreigner manufactures in exchange for corn. But we have agricultural as well as manufacturing resources to develop; and, besides, the foreigner is making great headway against us in certain branches of manufacture. France, for instance, under the Commercial Treaty of 1860, sends us much more of manufactured articles than we send her, and continues steadily to increase the amount every year, whilst with us the tendency is in the opposite direction. This will be

[1] 'Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom,' Parliamentary Papers No. 15, pp. 26, 27.

[2] Ibid. p. 42.

seen in the following tables, which show the import and export trade between France and England during the years specified:—[1]

IMPORTATION INTO FRANCE FROM ENGLAND.

	1859	1862	1863	1864
	Francs	Francs	Francs	Francs
Provisions .	12,208,000	25,110,000	33,937,000	26,935,000
Raw Materials	249,958,000	401,006,000	475,532,000	461,970,000
Manufactures .	16,059,000	99,540,000	83,177,000	89,803,000
Totals . .	278,225,000	525,656,000	592,646,000	578,708,000

EXPORTATION FROM FRANCE TO ENGLAND.

	1859	1862	1863	1864
	Francs	Francs	Francs	Francs
Raw Produce .	282,201,000	261,759,000	333,169,000	382,467,000
Manufactures .	309,076,000	357,766,000	466,445,000	521,974,000
Totals .	591,277,000	619,525,000	799,614,000	904,441,000

The exportation from France suddenly retrograded in the year 1861–62, owing to causes connected with the civil war in America, but shows a large increase in the following years.

In the exports from Great Britain for consumption in France, cotton and woollen manufactures, iron and other metals, as well as the raw materials for manufactures, showed a large increase up to the year 1862. This was a natural consequence of the removal of the large protective duties on the chief of these articles and of the prohibitory duties on manufactures; but in 1863 the increase on some of these articles was changed into a positive decrease.

As regards the French exports to Great Britain, the increase of trade has chiefly reference to manufactured articles. Woollen goods especially show a marked progress; the manufactory of Roubaix, being one of

[1] Report of Mr. Fane, Her Majesty's Secretary of Embassy, on the Commerce between Great Britain and France. Paris, November 27, 1866. Parliamentary Papers 1867, No. i. pp. 284, 285.

those which, having most feared English competition, have derived the greatest advantage from English custom.[1]

It will be seen by the above tables that in the year 1864 France sent us nearly six times as much manufactured goods as she received from us, and showed an increase of 164,000,000 francs in that year, as against 1862, while our exports of manufactures to France in that period declined about 10,000,000 francs.[2]

Even in our *spécialité* of locomotive engines, France, Belgium, and Prussia are rapidly progressing alongside us.

Labour is certainly cheaper on the Continent than with us, and our Continental neighbours do not appear to suffer as much as we do from frequently recurring contests between labour and capital. This is an element which we ought not to overlook, as it involves a cogent argument against our relying too much on our supremacy in manufactures. Strikes have already seriously curtailed the manufacturing industry of Great Britain; and British workmen, when they combine for an advance of wages, ought to keep well within that limit at which, as an

[1] Report of Mr. Fane, Parl. Papers 1867, No. i. pp. 283–288.
French exports to Great Britain:—

	1859 Francs	1864 Francs
Woollens	39,178,000	98,512,000
Linens	3,331,000	3,103,000
Cottons	5,742,000	12,671,000
Metal Goods	4,395,000	8,912,000
Yarns	406,000	8,842,000
Earthenware, glass, &c.	4,398,000	5,993,000

[2] These are the latest reliable statistics I can command. There are general and loud complaints now in France of the bad state of trade, especially in the cotton and woollen manufactures. This is attributed by the French to the influx of British goods, under the Commercial Treaty, a modification of which they now seek for. The British manufacturer has also to complain of an unprecedently dull trade, and the Irish linen manufacture is in a very depressed state. Trade appears to be generally overdone, and some, who ought to be good judges, are of opinion, that it is to the general depression resulting therefrom, rather than to the Commercial Treaty, that the dulness complained of by our neighbours must be attributed.

economic necessity, a particular branch of manufactures will be transferred from these countries to the Continent.

This is exemplified by the following evidence of Mr. Samuda, M.P., iron ship builder, before the Trades Unions Commission:—

> My greatest customers used to be, ten years ago, France, Russia, Prussia, Egypt, and Turkey. I have had as much as 700,000*l.* worth of orders from these different Governments in my yard at one time, but at the present time France is competing with me, and taking my Prussian and Egyptian orders, and at this moment no less than 380,000*l.* worth of work is going on for these very Governments who have been my customers for fifteen years.

Another witness stated that his firm

> Formerly supplied locomotives to France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Holland, Russia, and Spain, while now France and Germany and Austria not only supply themselves, but have become competitors with us in Russia, Spain, Egypt, and Italy, and even in India, and England herself.

Now agriculture has not this difficulty of strikes to contend with.

No doubt, on the whole, Great Britain enjoys a proud pre-eminence in manufacturing industry, but this ought not to lull us into a false security with respect to the general improvement of our agriculture.

CHAPTER LIV.

AGRICULTURE MAN'S CHIEF INDUSTRY—IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES—A GENERAL CHANGE IN THE LAND-LETTING SYSTEM OF THESE COUNTRIES INDISPENSABLE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES — ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE EVILS OF ANNUAL TENANCY AND OF THE BENEFITS OF LEASES IN ENGLAND.

AGRICULTURE is, and ever must be, man's chief industry; and, in one important particular, agriculture differs from manufactures—namely, that the manufacturer turns out his finished product at a certain cost of wear and tear of machinery which, year after year, must of necessity be deteriorating, while the agriculturist, under a good system of farming, raises his crops and, at the same time, drains and cleans his land, and enriches it with what our Continental neighbours call 'a capital of fertilization.'

But, above all things, a general change in the land-letting system of these countries is an indispensable condition of the full development of our agricultural resources. In Great Britain the landlords are wealthy, and a strong sympathy, honourable to both classes, subsists between them and their tenants; but even these favourable circumstances, under the present system of annual tenancies, are insufficient to induce that free application of labour and capital to the soil which is now, and will become every year more and more, essential to the well-being of the State.

Our mines and manufactures have thus far carried us on comfortably; but now, with increased population and the spread of intelligence, in England as in Ireland, the working classes of the order agricultural must be more *raciné*—more rooted in the soil they till. Under an improved system—a system of secure tenure for a sufficient term of years, defeasible only by non-payment of rent—the soil would be much better

manipulated, and the gross produce would be immensely increased; that is, a much greater amount would be distributed in rent, wages, and profit, especially the two last; and moreover, the people would have a greater stake in the country. If all this applies to England, *à fortiori*, is it applicable to Ireland, an almost exclusively agricultural country; and 'is not the wealth of Ireland as much ours as that of Cornwall and Northumberland?'[1]

So important is this question of secure tenure, especially at the present juncture, that I shall offer no apology for still further illustrating it by the following quotations from two writers of great practical experience on the subject:—

The greater part of this district[2] is a turnip and barley soil, and the course of cropping generally adopted is the four-field or Norfolk system. It is carried out with more or less energy, according to the security which the tenant feels that he shall reap the profit of his own exertions. For instance, a tenant who holds extensively under different landlords told us that from one of these he had no lease, and paid a very high rent; he therefore spent nothing in purchased food or manures, as he might be obliged to go at any time, if his landlord took a fancy to the farm, and he must in that case leave his improvements behind him. His high rent also prevented expenditure, for he might wish to leave the farm as soon as he could get a better, and he was therefore on his guard against an outlay which he could not take with him. On another estate, the same man has a farm *at a moderate rent, with a lease*, and this year he expended on it 100*l.* in purchased manures, and 200*l.* in purchased food. On the first farm he is losing money; on the second, he thinks, with prices a little better, he might do well enough.

Great part of the land which forms the subject of this letter is let on yearly tenure. Farming is not, on the whole, carried on with any degree of spirit, and of this the farmers are themselves quite conscious. 'We are not farming,' one of them said to us; 'we know that we are not farming: we are only taking out of the land what we can get from it at the least cost, as we don't know how long we may remain in

---

[1] Campbell's 'Philosophical Survey, A.D. 1775,' p. 344, *supra*.

[2] Blenheim, Oxfordshire.

possession, and have no security for what we might be disposed to invest in improved cultivation.'[1]

This naturally brings us to the statement of a question which we have considered and discussed with intelligent practical farmers in all parts of England—security for the capital of the farmer, whether under the designation of 'compensation for unexhausted improvements,' or, more briefly, 'tenant-right.' The investment of a tenant's capital in land seldom contemplates an immediate return. He does not anticipate that a large expenditure in cleaning and enriching worn-out land will be all repaid to him in the first crop. He lays the foundation for a series of good crops, which, in the aggregate, he expects to repay him with interest. If he drains, makes fences, or other improvements of a more permanent character, a still longer period is requisite to compensate him. But he must either be secured in the possession of his farm for a certain period sufficiently long to enable him to receive the benefits of his investment, or have some precise agreement under which he is to be repaid, in fixed proportions, for his outlay, if his landlord should see fit to resume possession of the farm. Without either the one or the other, an improving tenant has no legal security for the capital he invests in the cultivation of another person's land.

Yet the great proportion of English farms are held on yearly tenure, which may be terminated at any time by a six months' notice on either side. It is a system preferred by the landlord, as enabling him to retain a greater control over the land, and acquiesced in by the tenants in consideration of easy rents. During a period of high prices, moderate rents could be paid without the investment of much capital by the tenant. But low prices and universal competition compel agricultural improvement. We must either farm as well as our neighbours or be undersold by them. The investment of tenants' capital, whether in money, skill, or industry, is now, therefore, more than ever necessary to success. It may be said, with perfect truth, that great agricultural improvements have been made, and the most entire confidence subsists between landlord and tenant under this uncertain tenure. That tenants do, in many instances, invest their capital largely with no other security than their landlord's character, we most willingly testify; and the confidence which subsists between the two classes in England is in the highest degree honourable to both. In no country, perhaps, in the world, does the character of any class of men for fair and generous dealing, stand higher than that of the great body of English landlords. Yet there are exceptions, and these are, unfortunately, be-

[1] Caird's 'English Agriculture,' pp. 25, 26.

coming more numerous. The son does not always inherit the virtues of his father. Necessity or education may make his views different. Family provisions and allowances may leave him less to spend from the same rental. The tenant too, mixing more with the world than he used to do, or being educated at a more advanced period of its progress, begins to dislike the dependence implied in this relation. He knows that he must invest his capital more freely than heretofore in the cultivation of his farm, and in these days of change he feels that he is entitled to ask some effective security for its repayment. That security he may obtain, either by being guaranteed by lease in the possession of his farm for such a number of years as will give time for his invested capital to have full effect and be returned to him, or, if the landlord declines to give a lease, by an agreement on a certain basis for compensation for unexhausted improvements when either party wishes to terminate the connection. One or other of these alternatives the improving farmer is fairly entitled to expect, and for the reasons now to be given we most strongly recommend the general adoption of leases, in preference to tenant-right.[1]

All intelligent farmers (says Mr. Brown, in the 'Book of the Landed Estate'[2]) should have leases of their farms—in fact, very few farmers with capital at command will take a farm at the present day without a lease; and, indeed, the landlord is as much benefited by giving leases as the tenants are themselves: in fact, in my opinion, a landlord gains much more by a system of leases on his estate than the tenants do A lease is a great advantage to a tenant, and it is much more so to the landlord. Where a tenant has his farm from year to year he has no security beyond twelve months before him, and the consequence is that he does not feel justified in expending his capital on the farm, as he knows well that he is liable at any time to receive a few months' notice to quit. He may know that it would benefit both himself and the soil he tills to have it thoroughly trenched or sub-soiled, but he also knows that it will take some years for him to reap sufficient benefit from such improvements, and consequently, when he has not a lease, he has no security for such an outlay.

A liberal application of manures, along with a thorough opening up of the soil, will give an increase of produce for many years; but a tenant holding a farm without a lease cannot be expected to make such improvements, when he is liable to be ejected from his farm the following season. In fact, a yearly tenant only does such work as will benefit himself for the year—he has no encouragement to look beyond

[1] Caird's 'English Agriculture,' pp. 503-505.

[2] Pp. 63, 64.

the year; and we cannot blame a man in such a position for not expending his capital when he has no security for its return. On many estates, if a tenant-at-will were to lay out his capital in improvements, and thereby enhance the value of the land, the rent of that farm would be raised; and this, in many cases, is a prohibition against the improvement of his farm by a tenant-at-will.

If such is the case in England, if leases are so necessary to the full development of the resources of the soil in that country, if the absence of leases is the cause of her agricultural production being so far short of what it might be, and what is required for the maintenance of her rapidly-growing population, can we be surprised at the backward state of Ireland, under all the circumstances I have thus far so fully detailed?

CHAPTER LV.

THE REMOTE CAUSES OF THE EVILS OF IRELAND LIE IN THE PAST; HENCE A BRIEF REVIEW OF IRISH HISTORY ESSENTIAL TO OUR INQUIRY—TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF IRELAND AT THE TIME OF THE INVASION OF HENRY II. IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE—THE BREHON LAWS; DISTINGUISHED BY THEIR MILDNESS, AND IN THIS RESPECT RESEMBLING OUR MODERN JURISPRUDENCE—THE IRISH PRE-EMINENTLY LOVERS OF JUSTICE—AT THE PERIOD OF THE INVASIONS OF THE NORTHERN BARBARIANS, IRELAND THE DEPOSITORY OF THE LEARNING OF WESTERN EUROPE; HOSPITABLY RECEIVING AND GRATUITOUSLY MAINTAINING ALL STUDENTS COMING FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND THE CONTINENT—THE HONOURS PAID LEARNED MEN—HOUSES OF HOSPITALITY; BIATACHS OR HOSPITALLERS—THEIR PROFICIENCY IN MUSIC; ITS HUMANIZING EFFECT—THE IRISH A PASTORAL NATION—TANISTRY AND GAVEL-KIND—COSHERINGS; COIGNY—THE IRISH WORKED THEIR MINES, AND WROUGHT SKILFULLY IN METALS.

We have now seen that Ireland possesses great natural resources, but that, viewed in relation with these resources, her actual condition is far behind what it ought to be. To this state of facts we have applied the principles of economic science with a view to our understanding the nature and operation of

the *immediate* causes of the backward and unsatisfactory condition of the country. We have seen that, although abundantly endowed with land, labour, and capital, she has not turned these elements of production to account—she has not brought them freely into combination, as is done elsewhere. We have further seen that, generally speaking, there exists a want of sympathy and co-operation between the proprietor and the tiller of the soil, very different from the identity of feeling and interests that unites the same classes in other countries. In a word, we have seen that the case of Ireland is, in many respects, strangely exceptional—that she is a nation of anomalies.

It will be necessary for us now to investigate why it is these immediate causes exist, or, in other words, to trace and examine into the *remote* causes, the *fons et origo*, of the evils of Ireland. To do this it is indispensable that we should go back on the past—that we should briefly review the history of the country from her first connection with England down to the present day.

At the time of the invasion of Ireland in the twelfth century by Henry II., the island was divided into five provinces or kingdoms. These were Leinster, Desmond or South Munster, Tuamond or North Munster, Connaught, and Ulster. The prince of one of these five provinces was monarch of the whole island. Meath was regarded as the appanage of the chief ruler, but latterly Meath also was governed by an all but independent prince. The Ostmen, chiefly of Danish extraction, had made settlements in Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and other towns on the sea coast, at the mouths of navigable rivers, for trading purposes, and were governed by their own chiefs, under the provincial kings. The office of supreme monarch was elective, and hence jealous feuds and deadly strife but too often ensued on a vacancy occurring. The monarch indeed was little more than titular, holding his position against powerful rivals mainly by his own abilities and vigour. The other princes, who assumed all the rights of royalty in their several dominions, paid him a

precarious tribute, and joined his standard rather as allies than subjects.[1]

The O'Neills of Ulster had for generations occupied the throne of Ireland, but at the invasion it was filled by Roderic O'Conor, King of Connaught, who, nevertheless, had to struggle against the opposition of his great rival O'Neill and other chiefs, who refused to recognise his supremacy.

Necessarily there were frequent small wars and dissensions where there were so many rulers. Hence the island appeared an easy prey to English ambition. No doubt it was desirable, in the interests of peace and humanity, that the several small rival states should merge into a kingdom, under one monarch, with an assured rule. It is but natural to suppose that this would, in due time, have taken place if the Irish were left to themselves. Such is the experience of history. Thus were the members of the Saxon heptarchy united under Egbert, and thus were the numerous small states of Gaul and Germany gradually consolidated into large kingdoms in the natural course of events.

Of the manners and customs of the ancient Irish the descriptions widely vary, much depending on the nation of the writer. As to the effects of British rule on the Irish character, manners, and customs, for at least six centuries, there is but little difference of opinion among all writers of weight, no matter what their race or creed.

'If,' says Leland, 'we inquire into the manners of the ancient Irish from English writers, we find their representations odious and disgusting; if from writers of their own race, they frequently break out into the most animated encomiums of their great ancestors.'[2]

The laws of a country, where self-imposed, may fairly be taken as a reflex of the manners of the inhabitants; and

[1] Leland's 'History of Ireland,' vol. i. p. 10.
[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. xxx.

certainly the laws of Ireland before the invasion appear to have been those of a nation not deficient in civilization and humanity. Hospitality was enforced by law. The wants of travellers were thus provided for all over the kingdom. 'Even the lowest of the people claimed reception and refreshment by an almost perfect right. "The most holy men of heaven," say the Irish laws, "were remarkable for hospitality, and the Gospel commands us to receive the sojourner, to entertain him, and to relieve his wants."'[1]

These laws, called the Brehon laws, as they were administered by the Brehons, or judges,[2] not only provide against ordinary grave crimes, but such offences as are not generally amenable to human tribunals, such as slander, tale-bearing, or disrespect to superiors.

But at this day it will not be regarded as a distinguishing mark of barbarity, that the most outrageous offences (such as murder or adultery) were punishable only by an eric or fine.[3] . . . Hence we may form a judgment of the lenity of their penal laws in other instances. The property and security of woods, the regulation of watercourses, but above all the property of bees, on which depended the principal beverage of the people, were guarded by a number of minute institutions, which breathe a spirit of equity and humanity. We are not to wonder that a people accustomed to the refinements found in their own laws, should be pronounced of all others the greatest lovers of justice. This is the honourable testimony of Sir John Davies and Lord Coke. With shame we must confess that they were not taught this love of justice by the first English settlers.[4]

It is desirable we should read the 'honourable testimony'

[1] Leland, vol. i. p. xxxiv.

[2] The Brehons administered justice in the open air. The judge was always in his district. Both parties to a cause were examined by him—the accused and accuser. It is worthy of remark that this principle is being latterly adopted in our jurisprudence, as well as that the spirit of lenity by which the old Irish criminal code was distinguished is now growing more and more in public favour; a pleasing contrast to that Draconian system which, not very long since, visited such offences as forgery, sheep-stealing, and shop-lifting with the punishment of death.

[3] Leland, vol. i. p. xxxiv.

[4] Ibid. vol. i. p. xxxv.

here referred to, especially as it proves that the love of justice which characterized the early inhabitants of Ireland had not abated in their descendants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The same feeling predominates in our day. The Irish peasant is pre-eminently a lover of justice. Injustice he cannot brook. If he conceives he is wronged, and thinks there is no legal redress to be had, he unfortunately but too often takes the law into his own hands, and carries out, in fearful agrarian outrage, what has been called 'the wild justice of revenge.' And it is a significant fact—one to be pondered on by our statesmen—that the only serious outrages in Ireland are agrarian.

The words of Sir John Davies have reference to the dutiful conduct of the Irish on their being at last admitted to the condition of subjects under James I.:—

> They would (he observes) gladly continue in that condition as long as they might be protected and justly governed, without oppression on the one hand, or impunity on the other: for there is no nation of people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves, so that they may have the protection and benefit of the law, when upon just cause they do desire it.[1]

Lord Coke's[2] testimony is:—

> Of the kingdom of Ireland I have been informed by many that have had judicial places there, and partly of my own knowledge, that there is no nation in the Christian world that are greater lovers of justice

---

[1] 'Historical Tracts,' p. 123. Dublin, 1787. Sir John Davies was Attorney General for Ireland under James I., and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in the Parliament of 1613. Availing himself of the opportunities of his high official position, and the sources of information at his command, in the archives of Dublin Castle, and Irish State papers in the Tower, he deeply and carefully studied Irish history. He was, moreover, a close observer of the character of the people. For these reasons, I quote him on many points in the course of the historical portion of this work: and I believe he may safely be regarded as the most accurate, as he is the most generally accepted, authority on the history of Ireland, up to his time.

[2] Lord Chief Justice of England; born 1550, died 1634.

(whereof we shall principally treat) than they are, which virtue must be accompanied by many others; and besides they are descended of the ancient Britons, and therefore more endeared to us.[1]

' ' In the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries Ireland was the depository of the learning of Western Europe. During that period, according to Ussher,[2] Ireland took precedence of every nation in religion and learning. Hence she was designated 'Insula sanctorum et doctorum.' She sent forth her missionaries to every clime; and, to this day, in many a district in Germany, France, and other countries, the parish church claims as its local patron an Irish saint. 'The Irish,' says the Venerable Bede, 'received with kindness strangers who came from every country at these periods to be instructed among them, and gratuitously supplied them with food, books, and teachers.'[3]

Camden, writing in 1607, with reference to the eighth and ninth centuries, says:—

The Saxons of that age flocked hither, as to the great mart of learning; and this is the reason why we find it so often in our writers of the lives of the saints, '*such a one was sent over to Ireland to be educated*,' and the reason also of this passage in the life of Sulgenus, who flourished 700 years ago:—

> Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi,
> Ibat ad Hibernos, sophiâ mirabile claros.
>
> With love of learning and examples fired,
> To *Ireland*, famed for wisdom, he repaired.

Nor is there any reason to wonder that Ireland, which for the most part is now rude and barbarous, without any parts of polite learning, did abound with persons of so great piety and abilities, in an age when learning was little heeded in any other part of Christendom; since the wisdom of Providence sows the seeds of religion and learning, now in

---

[1] 'Institutes,' vol. iv. c. 76.

[2] 'Usser. Primord. Eccles.,' c. xvii. p. 899. James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, was born in Dublin 1580, died 1656.

[3] 'Hist. Eccles.' lib. iii. cap. 17. The Venerable Bede was born in 673, died 735. In 731, he completed his 'Ecclesiastical History,' a work of great learning. It was first printed at Eslingen, by Conrad Fyner, in 1474.

one nation and then in another, as in so many beds; to the end that by every transplantation a new growth may shoot up and flourish, to the glory and good of mankind.[1]

Up to this period Ireland had happily escaped from the incursions of the northern barbarians which had desolated the continent of Europe. But unfortunately they made a descent on the island about the year 748, and continued to visit and devastate the country almost annually for two centuries, which of course greatly retarded her civilization. Ultimately these Northmen, or Ostmen, permanently established themselves on the seaboard for trading purposes, and settled down in peace. Notwithstanding their depredations, we learn from Sir James Ware that the study of literature rapidly revived, and that, even in the eleventh century, 'Ireland was deemed the repertory of the most holy and learned men.'

So much was learning prized by the ancient Irish, that learned men ranked next to kings and princes of the blood. This was marked by the number of colours in their garments. The kings and princes wore seven colours, historians and learned men six, nobles five, those who exercised hospitality four, officers three, soldiers two, and the mechanics or working classes one.[2]

Their love of hospitality was such that, besides the general obligation, lands were assigned by government to certain nobles who were appointed to exercise it in the different provinces. They were called Biatachs[3] or Hospitallers, and their office was deemed most honourable.[4] Of houses of hospitality, there were ninety in Connaught, the same number in Ulster, one hundred and twenty in Leinster, and a thousand and thirty in Munster; 'for the Irish knew and obeyed the admonition of the Apostles and the precept of Saint Peter, that Christians should observe

[1] 'Britannia,' vol. ii. p. 1318.

[2] Keating. 'Camb. Evers.' chaps. viii. and x. 'Ogygia,' pt. iii. chap. xxiii.

[3] From bia, Latin *victus*; which signifies all kinds of food.

[4] 'Cambrensis Eversus,' vol. ii. pp. 243–5. Edit. of Celtic Society, Dublin, 1850.

hospitality one towards another, without murmuring; and also of Saint Paul, "Hospitality do not forget, for by this some, not being aware of it, have entertained angels," namely, Abraham and Lot among others.'[1]

In music they are said to have excelled every other nation. Their proficiency was great.[2] The harp was their favourite instrument. One was to be found in every house.[3] A taste for music so generally diffused must surely have had a humanizing effect—

Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

In all ages, as in our days, the native music of Ireland has been prized for its exquisite sweetness and depth of feeling.

The Irish were a pastoral nation. Each sept was settled in its own district, and their government was eminently patriarchal, as described in the following extract from a letter of Sir John Davies to the Earl of Salisbury in 1606, up to which time, in several districts, the ancient manners and customs still prevailed.

There is first a general chieftain of every country, or territory, which hath some demesne and some household provisions yielded unto him by all the inhabitants under him; every sept or surname hath a particular chieftain or tanist, which hath likewise his peculiar demesne and duties, and these possessions go by succession, or election, entirely, without any division; but all the other lands holden by all the inferior inhabitants are partible in course of gavel-kind, wherein there is no difference made between legitimate sons and bastards, and therefore both these customs, both of tanistry and gavel-kind [4] in this kingdom, are lately, by the opinion of all the judges here, adjudged to be utterly void

---

[1] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 243–7.

[2] Giraldus Cambrensis 'Hist.' chap. xix. [3] Camden, p. 714.

[4] Gavel-kind. (From the Welsh *gavael*, a hold, a grasp, tenure.) A tenure in England, by which the land descended from the father to all his sons in equal portions, and the land of a brother, dying without issue, to all his brothers equally. This law or custom prevailed all over England before the Norman Conquest.

and extinguished, either by surrender or resumption of all the lands which are so holden.[1]

We shall see further on how this tenure was altered, in 1605, by King James I. to our modern system, the tenants to pay a money rent in lieu of 'cosherings, coigny,[2] and other Irish exactions,' and, in consideration thereof, to remain in undisturbed possession of their holdings.[3]

The Irish worked their mines and wrought skilfully in metals from a very remote period. The remains of ancient armour and of gold and silver ornaments, found in the bogs of Ireland, and the general manufacture of textile fabrics of wool and flax from the earliest ages, are proofs of the skill and civilization of the inhabitants.

Such were the people whom the English invaded to civilize and improve. History tells with what result.

[1] Davies, 'Hist. Tracts,' p. 265.
[2] 'Cosherings and Coigny.' See Appendix XVI.
[3] Chapter lix.

CHAPTER LVI.

INVASION UNDER HENRY II. IN 1169—HE LANDS, AND IS ACKNOWLEDGED AS LORD PARAMOUNT IN 1173—THE PALE—GREAT EVILS FOR CENTURIES ARISING FROM THE ABSENCE AND NEGLECT OF THE SOVEREIGNS, AND MISCONDUCT OF THE LORDS DEPUTIES, AND LORDS JUSTICES—POLICY OF THESE TO PREVENT A FUSION OF THE ENGLISH SETTLERS AND THE IRISH—FOR THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES THE IRISH EXCLUDED FROM THE LAWS AND PRIVILEGES OF THE ENGLISH, ALTHOUGH FREQUENTLY PETITIONING TO BE ADMITTED THERETO—THE PARLIAMENT OF KILKENNY IN 1366—ITS CELEBRATED STATUTES—IN ALL THE PARLIAMENT ROLLS TILL THE REIGN OF HENRY VII. THE IRISH STYLED 'THE IRISH ENEMY;' TREATED AS ALIENS, NOT AS SUBJECTS—EMPHATIC CONDEMNATION OF THIS POLICY BY MR. HUME AND SIR JOHN DAVIES—SOWING OF DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE IRISH AND ANGLO-IRISH—'DIVIDE AND RULE' THE MAXIM OF THE CHIEF GOVERNORS AND THE CABINET OF ENGLAND—PLEASING EXCEPTION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD DEPUTY PERROT—HIS NOBLE CHARACTER.

THE conquest of Ireland commenced with the invasion under Henry II. in 1169, and was completed only at the close of the reign of Elizabeth in 1603. For the first four centuries the country was desolated by war. Then followed a century of oppression and persecution for conscience sake, marked by the memorable rebellion of 1641 and the Cromwellian wars. To this succeeded the era of the Penal Laws, more than a hundred years of legalized wrong and oppression, to which history furnishes no parallel.

The whole rule of Ireland by England up to the year 1829, when the Catholic Relief Act was passed, was an unbroken chain of tyranny and misgovernment, emphatically condemned by all historians, and most strongly disapproved of by all creeds and classes at the present day.

That rule, extending over six centuries, is in itself sufficient to account for, as it comprises all the first causes of, the present most unsatisfactory state of the country.

Henry himself landed with a small force, in 1173, and was

acknowledged as lord paramount by Roderic, King of Connaught and lord of Ireland, and the other Irish princes. For about four centuries the English held only a tract along the east coast, comprising the counties of Louth, Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, which was called the Pale, and the limits of which they were gradually extending. They also gained possession at an early date of Cork, Waterford, and other Danish towns on the coast. Roderic was the last king elected by the Irish princes, and for some centuries after his reign 'the languid authority of the British crown sapped the foundations of order and civilization more effectually than the fierce incursions of the Danes.'[1] Never was a country more in need of a just and firm government. Never was a country afflicted for centuries by a more unjust or more feeble administration. Unfortunately, one after another the sovereigns of England, preoccupied by foreign wars and domestic broils, were obliged to leave Ireland almost entirely in the hands of their lords deputies. Even these latter, as a rule, spent the greater part of their time in England; the government in their absence being carried on by two or more lords justices.[2] Of the lords deputies and justices, especially the latter, the private interests lay directly in the opposite direction to their public duty. Their policy accordingly was shaped altogether to suit their own private ends and not to promote the welfare of the country they governed. This went on for centuries. The monarchs saw it; but, generally speaking, were unable to prevent it. It is one of the many strange anomalies of the history of Ireland.

Ordinarily the result of conquest is, that in the lapse of time conqueror and conquered settle down in amity and form a nation. In this, however, as in many other respects, the case of Ireland was exceptional. All through, the policy of the

[1] O'Driscoll, 'Hist. Ireland,' vol. i. p. 3.

[2] Even so late as the year 1726, we are told that 'the Viceroy is generally absent four-fifths of his time in the government.'—Dean Swift's Works, vol. vii. p. 116.

English chief governors evidently was to prevent a fusion of the races. It was determined that the Irish should not become English in language, manners, or institutions; neither should the English become Irish. For the first four centuries the Irish, although frequently petitioning to be admitted to the protection and privileges of the laws and institutions of the invaders, were jealously and rigorously excluded therefrom. They sought for and were refused those advantages which the English settlers enjoyed; such as trial by jury, all the laws passed in the Irish parliaments, and the privileges of Magna Charta, established in Ireland immediately after it was proclaimed in England.

The same spirit dictated the celebrated Statutes of Kilkenny. In the Parliament of Kilkenny, summoned in 1366, by Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III., it was enacted that marriage, nurture of infants, and gossipred with the Irish should be considered and punished as high treason. It was further enacted, that any man of English race using an Irish name, the Irish language, or any mode or custom of the Irish, should forfeit lands and tenements until he gave security, in the Court of Chancery, to conform in every particular to the English manners; or, if he had no lands, that he should be imprisoned until the like security be given. It was also made highly penal to the English to frequent the fairs or markets of the Irish, to permit their Irish neighbours to graze their lands, to present them to ecclesiastical benefices, or to receive them into monasteries or religious houses. These statutes were confirmed in a parliament held at Drogheda, under Henry VII., in 1495.[1]

The Statutes of Kilkenny are commented on in the following significant language by the Attorney-General for Ireland of King James I.:—

Whereby it is manifest that such as had the government of Ireland, under the crown of England, did intend to make a perpetual separation

[1] 'Irish Statutes,' vol. i. p. 47, 10th Henry VII. chap. 8.

and enmity between the English and the Irish, pretending, no doubt, that the English should in the end root out the Irish: which the English not being able to do caused a perpetual war between the nations, which continued four hundred and odd years, and would have lasted to the world's end, if, in the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Irish had not been broken and conquered by the sword, and since the beginning of his Majesty's reign had not been protected and governed by the laws.[1]

In all the Parliament rolls which are extant from the fortieth year of Edward III., when the Statutes of Kilkenny were enacted, till the reign of King Henry VII., the natives are styled 'the Irish enemy,' and the Anglo-Irish 'English rebels.'[2] 'The *Irish* had always been considered not as subjects but as aliens, and even as enemies out of the protection of the law; in consequence whereof all marriages and alliances and even commerce with them were prohibited, and they might be oppressed, spoiled, and killed by the *English* at pleasure, not being allowed to bring any action nor any inquisition lying for the murder of an *Irishman*.'[3]

Describing this period, Mr. Hume, whose prepossessions certainly are not on the side of Ireland, observes:—

The English carried still further their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privileges of their laws, and everywhere marked them out

---

[1] Davies, 'Discovery of the true Causes why Ireland was never subdued.' Tracts, pp. 86, 87.

The Statutes of Kilkenny, and subsequent enactments to the same effect, were repealed, as regards trading with the 'Irish enemy,' and marriage and gossipred with them, by the 11th, 12th, and 13th James I. chap. 5. A.D. 1612–14: 'In that all the natives of this kingdom, without difference or distinction, are taken into his Majesty's gracious protection, and do now live under one law as dutiful subjects.' How widely the theory of this enactment—the principle of ruling all 'without difference or distinction'—was departed from in the subsequent legislation and rule of over two centuries we shall presently see.

[2] Davies, 'Tracts,' p. 85.

[3] Carte's 'Life of Ormond,' vol. i. p. 13.

as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts they became such; and, joining the ardour of revenge to their untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and dangerous.[1]

This, then, I note as a great defect in the civil policy of Ireland (says Sir John Davies), in that for the space of 350 years at least after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to its people, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed unto them, though they earnestly desired and sought the same; for, as long as they were out of the protection of the law, so as every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them, without control, how was it possible they could be other than outlaws and enemies to the crown of England? If the king would not admit them to the condition of subjects, how could they learn to acknowledge and obey him as their sovereign? When they might not converse or commerce with civilized men, nor enter into any town or city without peril of their lives, whither should they fly but into the woods and mountains, and there live in a wild and barbarous manner.[2]

It is not to be wondered at that, under these circumstances, the country very much retrograded in civilization, and that fearful outrages were perpetrated on all sides. Not only were English pitted against the Irish and Anglo-Irish, but the two last were frequently divided against each other by English intrigue.

Yet, notwithstanding this barbarous policy of their rulers, the first settlers or Anglo-Irish were every day, generally speaking, more closely uniting with the original inhabitants — so much so that the English complained that they were 'ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores.'

This tendency to union, it was decided, must be counteracted at any cost. Where penal enactments on the one hand, and exclusion from the protection and privileges of the law on the

[1] Hume's 'History of England,' vol. v. p. 412.
[2] Davies, 'Discovery,' &c. p. 90.

other, had proved insufficient, more must be done. Other agencies, no matter how demoralizing, must be tried. '*Divide et impera*,' was the maxim of England, from the commencement. Accordingly we read that the new colonies, under different reigns, from England to Ireland, were always careful to sow discord between the new and old Irish, who lived in perfect amity with each other.[1] But this sowing of dissensions, this dividing of the kingdom against itself, was not the care of the new colonies exclusively. It was by no means confined to them. It deeply infected even the Parliament and Cabinet of England. We learn from contemporary statesmen that some of Elizabeth's ministers fully approved of and participated in the demoralizing policy of their representatives in Dublin, as the most effectual means of keeping the Irish in subjection. A policy of conciliation and justice seems to have found no favour in their sight. 'Should we exert ourselves,' said they, 'in reducing this country to order and civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence and riches. The inhabitants will be thus alienated from England; they will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or erect themselves into an independent and separate state. Let us rather connive at their disorders; for a weak and disordered people never can attempt to detach themselves from the crown of England.'[2] Such is the testimony of Sir Henry Sydney and Sir John Perrot, each of whom, in his turn, governed the country as lord deputy under Elizabeth, and both of whom express in strong terms their indignation at this 'horrid policy, which had found its way into the English Parliament.'[3]

Here it is refreshing to note one brief gleam of sunshine, which lighted up this dark epoch of misrule and oppression; namely, the period of Perrot's government of Ireland under Elizabeth, in 1584–1587. Sir John Perrot's is a name which

[1] MacGeoghegan's 'History of Ireland,' p. 338.
[2] Letters of Sir Henry Sydney and Sir John Perrot.
[3] Leland, vol. ii. p. 292.

ever must be regarded with respect by Irishmen reading the history of their country. The principles on which he governed Ireland were, to deal out impartial justice to all—English, Anglo-Irish, and Irish; to discountenance and prevent all oppressions and confiscations, and to admit all to offices of state and public employments, without distinction of race. Unhappily he was not able to carry out these principles as fully as he desired. He was opposed and thwarted by the English party in Ireland. His acts, moreover, were misrepresented to Elizabeth. At length he petitioned the queen to be recalled. He stated to her Majesty that he could easily govern her Irish subjects, but that it was impossible to control her English servants in Ireland. Perrot's good intentions were thoroughly understood and gratefully appreciated by the country. When he retired from the post of chief governor, which he filled for three years, with no less benefit to the people he ruled and the sovereign he served than honour to himself, he was obliged to borrow the means to transport him to England. This is a striking fact, when we see that the lords deputies generally were gorged with the plunder of the inhabitants. Perrot was accompanied to the ship in which he embarked by many thousands of the population, we are told, in tears, including great numbers of the old Irish, who bewailed his departure as the loss of a father, whose place could not be filled up.[1] What a different country Ireland would have become long since had she been uniformly governed in this manner! But such a policy would never have suited the purposes of the chief governors, who, by sowing dissensions among the Irish and Anglo-Irish, and forcing them into rebellion, contrived to get possession of their estates.

Hence, we are not surprised to read that 'in the reign of

[1] The only blot on Perrot's fame was his having caused the son of O'Donnell, prince of Tyrconnel, to be inveigled on board a ship, under pretence of hospitality, seized, and kept a state prisoner in Dublin Castle, for some time, as a hostage for his father's good behaviour.

Elizabeth, even the old natives had degenerated, and the wars of several centuries had reduced them to a state inferior to that in which the English found them in the days of Henry II.' [1]

CHAPTER LVII.

INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORMATION INTO IRELAND BY HENRY VIII.—PARLIAMENT OF DUBLIN, 1536—A MORE SANGUINARY ERA INAUGURATED BY ELIZABETH—HER LARGE ARMY—'COIN AND LIVERY'—ALL THROUGH HER REIGN THE COUNTRY DESOLATED BY WAR—THE FIFTEEN YEARS' WAR OF TYRONE—CRUELTIES INFLICTED THEREIN—FAMINE AND PESTILENCE—IRELAND LOSES ONE-HALF HER INHABITANTS—DEATH OF THE QUEEN—THE CONQUEST, COMMENCED FOUR CENTURIES BEFORE, NOW COMPLETE.

But matters became infinitely worse when to the wars of race were superadded the wars of religion.

Immediately on the establishment of the Reformation in England, Henry VIII. proceeded to introduce it into Ireland. This could best be done through the Irish Parliament, which was so constituted as to be ever pliant, and ready to pass any measure dictated by the Cabinet of England.[2] Accordingly, in obedience to the king's commission, a parliament, summoned by Lord-Deputy Grey, assembled in Dublin on May 1, 1536. The first step was to neutralize the influence of the clergy. Their proctors, who had voted on all previous occasions, two attending from each diocese, were now debarred from voting by a declaratory act which pronounced them merely assistants, who might advise, if asked, but could not vote.[3] There was little difficulty in passing the measures, which were to the same effect as those enacted by the English parliament. The pope's supremacy was abolished, the king was declared supreme head of the Irish Church, and the first-fruits of all ecclesiastical

[1] Leland, 'Hist. Ireland,' vol. i. p. xxxv.

[2] Irish Parliaments—Poynings' Law. See Appendix XVII.

[3] 28th Henry VIII. chap. 12. A.D. 1537. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. i. p. 102.

livings were given to his Majesty.[1] Several religious houses were suppressed; all officers of every kind and degree were directed to take the oath of supremacy; and every person who refused it declared, as in England, guilty of high treason. To procure the enactment of these measures was one thing; to enforce their observance was quite another. The Irish and Anglo-Irish forthwith combined to defend their common faith; several insurrections followed; and this was the commencement of that protracted era of persecution for conscience sake which so much retarded the progress of Ireland, and, in its long train of consequences, proved so injurious to the best interests, material and moral, of both countries.

Henry tried policy rather than force. Elizabeth inaugurated a more sanguinary era. All the resources of her empire were employed to subjugate Ireland. She maintained an army of 20,000 men in the country, at an annual cost of 300,000*l.*, a very large sum in those days.[2] Besides, she had to keep a fleet constantly on the coast to intercept Spanish supplies. In less than ten years she thus expended three millions and a half of money, and lost large numbers of her best and bravest soldiers. And even this heavy expenditure was insufficient: for we learn from Sir John Davies that the Government 'never supplied the army in Ireland regularly with pay, and, as no money could be levied from the island, which possessed none,[3] they gave their soldiers the privilege of free quarters upon the natives.'

This quartering of hostile troops, without pay or commissariat, on an impoverished and persecuted people was the odious in-

[1] 28th Henry VIII. chap. 13° 'Irish Statutes,' vol. i. p. 104.

[2] 'Regalia Fragmenta,' by Sir Robert Naughton, Secretary of State and Master of the Court of Wardens under James I.

[3] In all the ancient pipe rolls, between the receipts and allowances, there is this entry, 'in thesauro nihil.' It is recorded in the Parliament rolls of the 21st of Edward III., remaining in the Tower, that the Commons of England made petition that it might be inquired why the king received *no benefit* of his land in Ireland.—Davies, 'Discovery,' pp. 20, 29.

fliction of 'coin and livery' under which Ireland groaned so long.

This most wicked and mischievous custom consisted in taking of man's meat, horse meat, and money, of all the inhabitants of the country, at the will and pleasure of the soldier; who, as the phrase of Scripture is, 'did eat up the people as it were bread;' for that he had no other entertainment. This extortion was originally Irish, for they used to lay 'bonaght' upon their people, and never gave their soldiers any other pay. But when the English had learned it, they used it with more insolence and made it more intolerable; for this oppression was not temporary or limited either to place or time; but, because there was everywhere a continual war, either offensive or defensive, and every lord of a country and every marcher made war and peace at his pleasure, it became universal and perpetual, and was indeed the most heavy oppression that ever was used in any Christian or heathen kingdom. And therefore this crying sin did draw down as great or greater plagues upon Ireland than the oppression of the Israelites did draw upon the land of Egypt. For the plagues of Egypt, though they were grievous, were but of short continuance; but the plagues of Ireland lasted 400 years together. This extortion of coin and livery produced two notorious effects: first, it made the land waste; next, it made the people idle: for when the husbandman had laboured all the year, the soldier in one night consumed the fruits of all his labour, '*longique perit labor irritus anni.*' Had he reason, then, to manure the land for the next year? Or rather might he not complain as the shepherd in Virgil:—

> Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
> Barbarus has segetes? En quo discordia cives
> Perduxit miseros! En queis consevimus agros!

And hereupon of necessity came depopulation, banishment, and extirpation of the better sort of subjects; and such as remained became idle and lookers-on, expecting the event of those miseries and evil times; so as this extreme extortion and oppression hath been the true cause of the idleness of this Irish nation, and that rather the vulgar sort have chosen to be beggars in foreign countries than to manure their own fruitful land at home.[1]

The natural result of this iniquitous custom and its numerous attendant evils was that, in the words of the historian, 'rapine

[1] Davies, 'Discovery,' Tracts, pp. 131-2-3.

and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conqueror and the conquered.'[1]

All through Elizabeth's reign the country was desolated by war. Confiscation and penal enactments against the national religion were superadded. For the strong mind of the queen had conceived and matured the stern resolve that, at any sacrifice, the Irish must be subjugated body and soul.

The last war, that of Tyrone, so called from O'Neill, the celebrated Earl of Tyrone, who was the chief leader, involved the whole kingdom, and lasted fifteen years, commencing in 1588, and terminating in 1603. It was mainly a struggle against religious persecution. Camden, a cotemporary writer, tells us that 'Tyrone and other lords of Ulster entered into a secret combination, about this time, that they would defend the Roman Catholic religion (for rebellion is never set on foot now but under pretence and colour of religion); that they would suffer no sheriffs nor garrisons to be within the compass of their territories; and that they would stand by one another in maintaining their rights, and jointly resist all invasions of the English.'[2] No cruelties were spared by the Lord Deputy, Mountjoy,[3] to crush this rebellion. 'He made incursions on all sides,' says Camden, 'spoiled the corn, burnt all the houses and villages that could be found, and did so gall the rebels, that, pent in with garrisons and streightened more and more every day, they were reduced to live like wild beasts, skulking up and down the woods and deserts.' The state of the whole country was deplorable in the extreme.

This protracted struggle, costing her so much blood and treasure, weighed heavily on the queen's mind, especially in her latter years.[4] At length, two ghastly allies came with irresistible

[1] Leland.

[2] Camden, 'The O'Neills and their Rebellions.'

[3] Lord Mountjoy, afterwards Earl of Devonshire, appointed Lord Deputy, February 1599.

[4] Naughton, 'Reg. Frag.' 'The war in Ireland may be styled the distemper of the reign of Elizabeth, having continued to the end of her life, and

effect to second her efforts. Famine and pestilence followed in the foot-prints of war. Ireland lost fully one half its population. The country, according to Holinshed, who lived at the time, which was before rich, fertile, populous, and abounding in pasturages, harvest-lands, and cattle, was now deserted and barren; no fruit or corn grew in its fields, no cattle was to be found in its pasturages;—in a word, the vengeance of Heaven was so heavy on the land that it might be travelled from one end to the other almost, without meeting man, woman, or child, saving in towns or cities.[1] 'Thus,' says Sir John Davies,[2] 'had the queen's army, under Lord Mountjoy, broken and absolutely subdued all the lords and chieftains of the Irish, and degenerate or rebellious English. Whereupon the multitude, being brayed as it were in a mortar with sword, famine, and pestilence together, submitted themselves to the English Government.' The population of Ireland, which before these wars was estimated at two millions, was now reduced to one million.

Thus the queen had succeeded, in part, when she was summoned to her final account.[3] Ireland was not converted to Protestantism, it is true;[4] but armed resistance was at an end. Elizabeth had made peace out of solitude.[5] The whole country became subject to England in the last year of her reign. The conquest, commenced over four centuries before, was now complete.[6]

proved such an expenditure as affected and disorganized the health and constitution of the princess; for in her last days she became sorrowful, melancholy, and depressed.'

[1] Holinshed, p. 460. [2] 'Discovery,' Tracts, p. 54.

[3] Elizabeth died March 24, 1603.

[4] Such was the attachment of the Irish to their religion, that, notwithstanding the severe laws made by Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, down to the accession of James I., it is an established fact, that, during that period, only sixty embraced the reformed religion, in a country numbering at the time two millions of inhabitants.—MacGeoghegan's 'Hist. Ireland,' p. 468.

[5] Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.—Tacitus.

[6] The effects of the wars, famine, and distress throughout Ireland at this

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE CONFISCATIONS; *SUI GENERIS*, A CLASS IN THEMSELVES, UNEXAMPLED IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY; CONDEMNED BY ALL WRITERS—'THE MORE REBELS, THE MORE CONFISCATIONS'—THE FAVOURITE THEORY THAT THE IRISH AND PAPISTS SHOULD BE ENTIRELY DIVORCED FROM THE OWNERSHIP OF THE SOIL—IRELAND TO BE PLANTED BY ENGLISH AND PROTESTANTS THE AVOWED POLICY OF GOVERNMENT—REBELLION OF O'MOORE AND O'CONNOR, AND CONFISCATIONS OF THE COUNTRIES OF LEIX AND OFFALIE, NOW QUEEN'S AND KING'S COUNTIES, IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.—REFUSAL OF THE TENANTS TO QUIT; THE LANDS CLEARED BY FORCE OF ARMS—THIS THE FIRST EXTENSION OF THE PALE—THE ALLEGED REBELLIONS OF THE IRISH, GENERALLY, PROVOKED BY THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE ENGLISH, AND NOT LEVELLED AGAINST GOVERNMENT—THESE FORFEITED LANDS DISTRIBUTED AT THE DISCRETION OF THE LORD DEPUTY—BAD EFFECTS OF THIS.

A SAD chapter in the history of Ireland is that which tells of her confiscations. In extent, degree, manner, and results, they stand alone; they are *sui generis*, a class in themselves, such as no other country ever experienced. Hence, by all writers, no matter how widely differing on other points, they are branded in language of the strongest reprobation. We have already seen how anxious the English adventurers and Chief Governors of Ireland were at all times to sow dissensions among the Irish.

period, may in some degree be estimated by the advance in the prices of provisions, even in the city of Dublin, as set forth in the following return, signed John Tirrel, Mayor, A.D. 1602:—

Wheat had risen from thirty-six shillings to nine pounds the quarter.
Barley-malt, from ten shillings to forty-three shillings the barrel.
Oat-malt, from five shillings to twenty-two shillings the barrel.
Pease, from five shillings to forty shillings the peck.
Oats, from three shillings and four pence to twenty shillings the barrel.
Beef, from twenty-six shillings and eight pence to eight pounds the carcase.
Mutton, from three shillings to twenty-six shillings the carcase.
Vale from ten shillings to twenty-nine shillings the carcase.
A lamb, from twelve pence to six shillings.
A pork, from eight to thirty shillings.

Leland, vol. ii. p. 422.

We shall now see that they were no less zealous in seconding the efforts of the sovereign to convert Ireland to the Protestant faith. They well knew that civil wars and persecutions for conscience sake could have but one result for them. It was not the improvement, or the conversion, but the broad acres of the Irish they coveted. 'The more rebels, the more confiscations,' was a common saying among them in the reign of Elizabeth. In that reign, a large number of adventurers poured from England into Ireland, to acquire fortunes there; and it was considered to be the interest and the duty of the state to provide for them. One theory was very popular in England at that time, and continued so down to the final settlement of all the property of the country, after the Revolution; viz. that it was for the interests of peace and civilization that the Irish and Papists should be entirely divorced from the ownership of the soil; that Ireland should be planted by English and Protestants; nay, more, that this change was essential to the prosperity of the empire. Several cotemporary pamphlets, and other publications of the period, that have come down to our day, are all more or less imbued with this theory. It was readily avowed as the policy of Government—a policy to be carried into practical effect on the first favourable opportunity.

In the reign of Edward VI. O'Moore and O'Connor, tainists or lords of the countries of Leix and Offalie, now the Queen's and King's Counties, in consequence of some real or imaginary wrong, waged war against their neighbours, the inhabitants of the Pale. This aggression was industriously represented to the Government in England as a rebellion; and consequently General Bellingham, afterwards rewarded for his success by knighthood and the post of Lord Deputy, was sent over to subdue them. They were attacked by him in the county of Kildare, and defeated with a loss, in killed, of two hundred of their followers. Having made submission, they were advised to wait on the king, as O'Neill had waited on his father, Henry VIII., by whom

he was received with distinguished favour. They followed this advice; but, on their arrival at the Court of Edward, they were thrown into prison and their estates confiscated. In the reign of Mary a Parliament was called, and a settlement was made of these districts,[1] which were respectively named Queen's County—comprising the countries of Leix, Slewmarge, Irry, and that portion of Glinmalire lying on the Maryboro' side of the Barrow; and King's County—comprising Offalie and the remaining portion of Glinmalire. It was enacted that the capitals should be named Maryboro' and Philipstown, in honour of the Queen and King Consort.[2]

By the addition of these counties, Sir Edward Bellingham considerably extended the boundaries of the Pale, which, up to this time, had increased but very little since the reign of Henry III.[3]

The lands were cleared with great difficulty. The tillers of the soil claimed titles, in their own right, to their holdings, which they asserted could not be invalidated by the act of their tainist, or suzerain, who might forfeit his own rights, but certainly could not theirs. They refused to quit; military execution was levied; they resisted; the lands were cleared at the point of the bayonet; and the result was the massacre of great numbers of the inhabitants.

Here I would direct particular attention to the fact that, generally speaking, whenever the Irish took up arms, it was not so much against the king and his government as against their English neighbours, who, always eager to extend their possessions, were constantly making encroachments. Remonstrance or appeal to the Government in Dublin was of no avail whatever, for no heed was paid to the representations of the Irish, or Anglo-Irish, who were called the degenerate English.

[1] A.D. 1556. 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, c. 1 and 2. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. i. pp. 240-244.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Cox, 'History of Ireland,' p. 284. Davies, 'Discovery,' Tracts, p. 51.

On the contrary, their acts, in repelling aggressions and resisting the unjust encroachments of the English, were represented to the Cabinet in London as treason and rebellion. This, as intended, led to the confiscation of their estates, which generally fell to those interested parties who provoked them to have recourse to arms, and contrived to have their own base conduct viewed as disinterested zeal in the king's service.

In the Acts for the disposition of the districts of Leix and Offalie[1] the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Sussex, is given 'full power and authority, during the time he shall be Lord Deputy there, to give and to grant to all and every their Majesties' subjects, English or Irish, born within this realm, or within the realm of England, at his election and pleasure, such several estates in fee simple, fee tail, leases for term of years, life or lives, of all and every the lordships, manors, castles, patronages of benefices, lands, tenements, and all other hereditaments temporal, with their appurtenances, parcel of any the said countries, or to any of the said countries of right appertaining or belonging, as for the more sure planting or strength of the countries with good subjects shall be thought unto his wisdom and discretion meet and convenient.' Thus the Lord Deputy might take himself, or give to any of the interested parties about him, 'at his election and pleasure,' those valuable estates. What greater incentive could there be to the Viceroy, or to those who had his ear, to foment disturbances and sow dissensions among the inhabitants of the country? Although in subsequent Acts the forfeited estates were vested in the sovereign, the Lord Deputy and Irish Government had the chief voice in determining their distribution and naturally took very good care of their own interests.

[1] 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, c. 1, 2. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. i. p. 240.

CHAPTER LIX.

CONFISCATIONS BY ELIZABETH; OF SHANE O'NEILL'S ESTATES IN 1568; OF THE EARL OF DESMOND'S IN 1586—PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS BY JAMES I.—HIS ASSIMILATION OF THE LAND TENURE OF IRELAND WITH THAT OF ENGLAND—FLIGHT OF THE EARLS OF TYRONE AND TYRCONNEL—CONFISCATION OF THEIR ESTATES AND THOSE OF SIR CAHIR O'DOGHERTY—THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER—THE LONDON COMPANIES—INSTITUTION OF BARONETS—THE PEASANTRY TREATED WITH HARDSHIP AND INJUSTICE.

ELIZABETH vigorously followed up the work of confiscation. After the rebellion and assassination of Shane O'Neill in 1568, his estates and those of his adherents, being 'most of the counties and seigniories of Ulster,'[1] were confiscated by Act of Parliament[2] and vested in the Crown. This large tract was granted to English adventurers in 1572. Cotemporary writers tell us that there were endless and destructive wars between the original inhabitants and the settlers, who found it impossible to hold their ground.

Again, in the Parliament of 1586,[3] 524,628 acres, English measure, the Earl of Desmond's property, were escheated. These estates lay in the counties of Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Waterford, Tipperary, and Dublin, and their annual value was 7,000*l.* in those days. Previously to his being proclaimed a rebel, the earl does not appear to have committed any overt act of treason, unless his quarrels with the Earl of Ormond about their respective authority and boundaries might be construed as such. His large possessions were a strong temptation to the chief governors, who did not succeed in passing his bill of attainder without considerable difficulty. The names of 140 proprietors deprived of their possessions in Munster alone are

[1] Camden.

[2] 11th of Elizabeth, c. 1, A.D. 1569. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. i 322.

[3] 28th of Elizabeth, c. 7, A.D. 1586. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. i. p. 418.

to be found in the statutes of this Parliament.[1] The queen was anxious to plant all these lands likewise with English adventurers, and letters were written to every county in England to invite younger brothers 'to become undertakers in Ireland.'[2]

The crown-rent of the confiscated lands, thus granted, was fixed at twopence per acre in the counties of Cork and Waterford, and at threepence in those of Limerick and Kerry. One condition was, that none of the native Irish should be tenants. Government promised to maintain sufficient garrisons on the frontiers. The conditions were not observed; the stipulated number of tenantry could not be made up. Hence, 'leases and conveyances were made to many of the Irishry.' In some cases the lands were abandoned and reoccupied by the original owners; and, in others, the undertakers encroached on the possessions of the well-disposed and loyal inhabitants. Even thus early the evil of absenteeism prevailed. Not residing themselves, the undertakers abandoned the settlement and management of their colonies to 'agents, ignorant, negligent, and corrupt.'[3] The garrisons were not maintained either by the Government or the colonists. These shortcomings largely contributed to the complete failure of the plantation; and greatly aggravated the disorders of the country.

Immediately on the accession of James I., it was decided that the penal law of the 2nd of Elizabeth, although it could not be generally carried out, should be put in execution, wherever Government had sufficient force to compel its observance. Thus, in the garrison towns, the attendance of Catholics at the Reformed worship, and the prohibition of their own, were often pressed at the point of the bayonet. Weekly fines for non-

[1] 'Irish Statutes,' vol. i. pp. 418–428. The 28th of Elizabeth c. 7 & 8, A.D. 1586.

[2] The names of those among whom the Desmond estates were distributed will be found in MacGeoghegan's 'History of Ireland,' p. 484. Translated by O'Kelly, Dublin edition of 1844. Several of these families are still, and up to 1847 nearly all were, in possession.

[3] Leland, vol. iii. p. 311.

attendance were regularly levied. In the petition of the Irish Lords and Commons agents to his Majesty, on 'the disorders and abuses of the Civil Government,' in 1613, we find the following statement:—'The statute made the 2nd of Elizabeth, laying a penalty of 12*d.*, every Sunday and holiday, for not going to church, is put strictly in execution in many places, but the said money, being a great matter of value over the whole kingdom, is not employed upon the poor, according to the statute, but brought into the hands of the clerks of these courts, but how they dispose of it the parishioners and churchwardens know not.'[1]

The Lord Deputy Chichester replies that this money was not given to the poor according to the statute, but was 'employed in repairing of churches and bridges, and like charitable uses; because the poor of the parishes are not fit to receive the same, being recusants (that is, Catholics), and therefore ought to pay the like penalty.'[2] Thus, as in our own time, the Irish poor preferred starving to abandoning their religion.

Moreover, all persons were required, under the statute, to take the oath of supremacy (which the Catholics regarded as tantamount to a renunciation of their religion), if they would be qualified to take literary degrees, practise at the bar, act as magistrates, or sue out the livery of their lands.[3] In some instances, the oath was exacted. In others, it was omitted. There was a painful uncertainty and suspense in any case, amounting to a practical exclusion of the great bulk of the nation from the means of advancement.[4] The people were naturally much alarmed and perplexed; not the less so, that they had hailed James, on his accession, as a ruler favourable

[1] 'Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica, or a select collection of state papers, illustrating the political systems of the chief governors and government of Ireland, during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.,' vol. i. p. 249. Dublin, 1772.

[2] Ibid. vol. i. 275.

[3] 2nd Elizabeth, c. 1, A.D. 1560. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. i. p. 275.

[4] Lingard, vol. vi. p. 136.

to their religion, They sent a deputation to the king, respectfully praying to be allowed the free profession and practice of the Catholic faith. James treated their application as an insult; said that to accede to their request would be against his conscience; and that, as long as he could muster one hundred men, he would fight to the death rather than permit the observance of an idolatrous religion. He further marked his displeasure by committing four members of the deputation to the Tower, for a term of three months' imprisonment.

Two years later,[1] the king issued a proclamation, in which all Catholic priests were commanded to quit Ireland within forty days, under penalty of death; and the magistrates and principal citizens of Dublin were ordered to attend regularly the Reformed service, under pain of imprisonment, now for the first time superadded to fine, which was the penalty enacted by the 2nd of Elizabeth. Here the king went beyond the law. The penalty of imprisonment for non-attendance at Protestant worship was not a legal enactment, but was merely enjoined in the Royal proclamation. Several heads of the great families waited on the Council, to remonstrate on the illegality of this punishment, and petitioned to be allowed the free exercise of their religion. Instead of obtaining redress, the chief petitioners were forthwith arrested and confined in the Castle of Dublin, and their spokesman, Sir Patrick Barnwall, was, by the king's command, sent over to London, and lodged a prisoner in the Tower.[2]

These arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings caused general dismay among the Irish. That dismay was increased by James's next move, which, though judicious and well intended, was at first viewed with suspicion and distrust. It was, to take measures for assimilating the tenure of land in Ireland with that prevailing in England.[3] We have already seen what

[1] A.D. 1605. Cox, vol. ii. p. 10.
[2] Lingard, vol. vi. p. 137. Leland, vol. ii. p. 435.
[3] A.D. 1605.

were the ancient customs of tanistry and gavel-kind.[1] These customs had now been pronounced illegal in a judgment of the court of King's Bench.[2] Accordingly a Royal proclamation was issued, calling on all proprietors in Ireland to surrender their estates to the crown, and promising that they would be restored to them with valid titles and on more favourable conditions. With a view to validity of title, as the titles of many could ill bear scrutiny, the surrenders were generally made, and the estates were restored, with this distinction, that the demesne lands were to be held by them in fee, but that on those lands occupied by their tenants, they were to receive a fixed annual sum, 'in lieu of all uncertain Irish exactions;'[3] the tenants, in consideration thereof remaining in undisturbed possession. The king's main object in this measure was to diminish the hereditary influence of the great chieftains. It certainly had this effect, for we are told 'the power of the Irish lords sodainly fell and vanished.' But while it unloosed the people from their authority, it left them open to be misled by interested plotters, who, for their own selfish ends, too often excited them to acts of violence and disorder.

Moreover, the tenants who had readily submitted to the contributions in kind, levied by their landlords, were very unwilling to make money payments of rent, to which they were wholly unaccustomed; so that, in many instances, under the new arrangement, the landlords became heavy losers.

The change was naturally most unpalatable to the great proprietors. They did not give the king credit for good motives. Their whole experience led them to distrust the Government, and to dread further measures, levelled against the faith and property of the nation.

[1] Supra, Chap. lv. [2] In Hilary term, 3rd James I.

[3] Davies, 'Discovery.' These were 'cosherings, sessings, rents of butter, oatmeale, and the like, now reasonably valued, and reduced into certain summes of money, to be paid yearly in lieu thereof.' Davies. See Appendix No. XVI.

There is no doubt that the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel and other powerful nobles bound themselves to each other, at this time, to unite in defence of their possessions and religion. That they went further is not so certain. Government, however, received information of an intended rebellion in Ulster, and endeavoured to secure the chiefs. The two earls and a number of their adherents fled to the Continent.[1] Some historians infer from their precipitate flight, and with reason, that rebellion was actually contemplated. Others, again, assert that it was all a fabrication of Christopher St. Lawrence, Baron of Howth, the tool of the wily minister Cecil; that, as Cecil had got up the Gunpowder Plot to persecute and deprive of their estates the Catholics of England, he now hoped, by similar means, to carry out the like nefarious designs against the persons and properties of their co-religionists in Ireland; and that the fugitives, though innocent, knew it would be in vain to assert their innocence, when their destruction was already doomed.[2] Their estates, and those of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, also outlawed for rebellion,[3] were escheated to the Crown.[4] They consisted of almost the whole of six northern counties—Tyrconnel, now called Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh. These lands, then estimated at two million acres, enabled James to carry into execution his favourite scheme of the plantation of Ulster. Elizabeth's attempts at plantation had failed. James, after much deliberation, decided on an improved plan, more likely to be successful.

[1] A.D. 1606.

[2] 'Artful Cecil employed one St. Lawrence to entrap the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, the Lord Delvin and other Irish chiefs into a sham plot which had no evidence but his. But those chiefs, being basely informed that witnesses were to be hired against them, foolishly fled from Dublin, and so taking guilt upon them, they were declared rebels, and six entire counties in Ulster were at once forfeited to the crown, *which was what their enemies wanted.*' —Anderson's 'Royal Genealogies,' p. 786.

[3] A.D. 1608.

[4] By the 11th, 12th, and 13th James I. c. 4, A.D. 1612. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. i. p. 428.

First, the lands were completely cleared. Then they were divided into four equal portions, viz. two of lots of 1,000 acres, one of lots of 1,500 acres, and one of lots of 2,000 acres each. The largest lots were reserved for 'undertakers,' and the next for 'servitors,' from England and Scotland, chiefly from the latter country.[1] The undertakers were men with capital, who would build castles and keep a certain number of armed retainers. The servitors were men who had served some time in Ireland, either in the army or in civil offices. The smaller lots of 1,000 acres were divided among these and the natives, but on condition, as regards the latter, that they should take the oath of supremacy. This condition, of course, was tantamount to a complete exclusion of the Catholics. The natives were also bound to reside in the open plains, leaving the strong positions to the British adventurers, and further they were prohibited from admitting any tenant not of British origin.[2]

One good feature of the plan was, that the settlers were bound to let their lands at determined rents, and for no less term than twenty-one years, or three lives. All were strictly prohibited from 'alienating their lands to mere Irish,' or demising any portions of them to such persons as should refuse to take the oaths to Government. Their tenants' houses were to be built after the English fashion, and grouped in towns or villages.

An annual rent was reserved to the Crown for every sixty English acres, 6s. 8*d.* from the British undertakers, 10s. from

[1] Carte computes the number of English settlers in Ulster at 20,000, and of Scotch at 100,000, in 1641. 'Life of Ormond,' vol. i. p. 177.

[2] These conditions were afterwards somewhat modified. Dr. Leland says that the undertenants and servants of the Irish were allowed to be of their own country and religion, and while all other planters were obliged to take the oath of supremacy they were tacitly exempted. That is, at best, though they were not pressed to take the oath, they were bound to do so, and it hung *in terrorem* over them. He adds that the servitors were allowed to take their tenants either from Ireland or Britain, so that no recusants (i.e. Catholics) were admitted, and that the British undertakers were confined to entertain English and Scotch only.

servitors, and 13*s.* 4*d.* from Irish natives. One of the professed objects of the plantation was to increase the royal revenues.

The city of London took an important part in the scheme. The corporation accepted large grants in the county of Derry, thence called Londonderry. They undertook to expend 20,000*l.* on the plantation and to build the cities of Derry and Colrain, and they stipulated for 'such privileges as would make their settlement convenient and respectable.' The king was greatly pleased, and remarked that, 'when his enemies should hear that the famous city of London had a footing therein, they should be terrified from looking into Ireland, the backdoor to England and Scotland.'[1]

Government undertook to maintain suitable garrisons for the protection of the planters. It was on this occasion that the order of baronets was instituted with a view to raising money for the maintenance of the king's army in the province. The title was to be conferred, by patent, on gentlemen of three descents, and possessing lands to the annual value of 1,000*l.* It was to be limited to 200 individuals, and it was promised that no new title of honour should ever be created between barons and baronets.[2] The patents were offered at 1,095*l.* each, the estimated cost of the support of thirty soldiers in Ulster for three years at eightpence daily pay. In six years ninety-three patents were sold producing 101,835*l.*,[3] which money, we are informed, 'never found its way to Ireland.'[4]

James's principal agent in the plantation of Ulster was Sir Arthur Chichester, the Lord Deputy, who is described as 'active, vigilant, cautious, and firm,' and possessing much local knowledge. Chichester obtained, as his reward, the lion's share, having been vested with the territory of Innoshowen and all the lands possessed by O'Dogherty, 'a tract of country far

[1] The London Companies. See Appendix XVIII.
[2] Somers' Tracts, 11, 254. [3] Abstract of King's Revenue, pp. 36–38.
[4] Order of Baronets. See Appendix XIX.

exceeding the allotments generally made to northern undertakers.'[1]

On the whole, although the execution fell far short of the original idea, James had reason to congratulate himself on the success of the project. It is true that extensive tracts, being mountainous and uncultivated, were never planted, that British tenants could not be found in sufficient numbers, and that consequently several estates were restored, by grant, to their original possessors on their paying a large composition and making professions of loyalty to the Crown. But, on the other hand, a considerable portion was permanently planted, improvements in agriculture were introduced, and several towns were built and incorporated by the king.

The whole scheme, however, was accompanied by the grossest oppression and injustice. The great lords, whose lands were escheated for rebellion, possessed only the *suzeraineté*, the property of the soil being, to a great extent, vested in their feudatories, who, in most cases, were loyal, peaceable, well-affected men. Surely these men ought not to have been disturbed. The king, or his grantee, ought to have stepped into the place of their suzerain. But no; all were indiscriminately expelled. Again, not only all native Irish, as in the plantation of Elizabeth, but also all Catholics, even though of English descent, were virtually prohibited from being holders or tenants. Thus the great bulk of the people were excluded from the soil.

Here is another of the striking anomalies of the history of Ireland. In the great changes of the territorial arrangements of other countries, the tenure was altered, but the tenants were allowed to remain undisturbed; whereas in Ireland, not only

[1] Leland, vol. ii. p. 452. Chichester's estates were valued at 10,000*l.* per annum in 1633. Strafford's 'State Letters,' vol. ii. p. 294. It is said that Chichester's descendant, the Marquis of Donegal, would now enjoy an income of 300,000*l.* a year from Belfast alone, but for long leases granted by a former proprietor.

was the tenure altered, but the tillers of the soil were all expelled from the lands which they and their ancestors had occupied for centuries.

In several districts, 'the commissioners appointed to distribute the lands, scandalously abused their trusts, and, by fraud or violence, deprived the natives of those possessions, which the king had reserved for them,'[1] subject always to their abandoning their religion, by their taking the oath of supremacy. 'Some indeed were suffered to enjoy a small pittance of such reservation; others were totally ejected.' Bishop Stearne relates that, in the small county of Longford, twenty-five of one sept were all deprived of their estates, without the least compensation, or any means of subsistence assigned to them.[2] 'The resentment of such sufferers was in some cases exasperated by finding their lands transferred to hungry adventurers, who had no services to plead; and sometimes to those who had been rebels and traitors.'[3] It is worthy of note, too, that the oath of supremacy was not enforced on the Scotch Presbyterians in Ulster, who had as strong an objection to take it as the Irish Catholics.

If we contrast the privileges and protection afforded the Scotch and English settlers and their complete freedom of religious worship with the wrongs, injustices, and heavy persecutions for conscience sake, under which the great majority of the nation then suffered at the hands of their rulers, and continued to suffer for two centuries, we can well understand the difference in their relative social and economic conditions in after times; and it is only a matter of surprise, that difference is not greater.

[1] Leland, vol. ii. 481. [2] MS. Trinity College, Dublin.
[3] Leland, ibid.

CHAPTER LX.

JAMES'S DESIGN TO EXTEND THE PLANTATION TO THE OTHER PROVINCES—INIQUITOUS ATTEMPTS TO DEPRIVE PROPRIETORS OF THEIR ESTATES—THE 'DISCOVERERS,' THEIR PROCEEDINGS, RESULTING IN THE SEIZURE, IN THE KING'S NAME, OF THE SEA-BOARD OF LEINSTER FROM DUBLIN TO WATERFORD, AND FIVE MIDLAND COUNTIES—THE KING NEXT CLAIMS THE WHOLE PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT AND THE COUNTY OF CLARE; LARGE COMPOSITIONS AND FINES PAID BY THE PROPRIETORS TO SECURE THEIR POSSESSIONS.

JAMES was anxious to extend to the other three provinces the plantation scheme he had so largely carried out in Ulster. For this purpose, it was necessary the crown should first get possession of the lands. There was no rebellion to afford a pretext for wholesale confiscation. A new mode was devised of dispossessing the owners of their ancient inheritance. This was simply an universal ejectment on the title. By this iniquitous procedure, under the guise of law, every rood of land in the possession of the Irish was sure to be adjudged the property of the crown. A crowd of English adventurers, called 'Discoverers,' engaged in the work. Several were encouraged by grants of estates, and all were attracted by the ease with which large fortunes were acquired in Ireland. They ransacked old records; they detected concealments of lands, which in the confusion of former times either had or were alleged to have been concealed and detained from the crown. Countenanced by the State, they dispossessed the old inhabitants, or obliged them to compound for their intrusion; and invariably they were themselves vested with portions of the lands or otherwise rewarded.[1]

Where no grant appeared, or descent or conveyance in pursuance of it could be proved (says Carte), the land was immediately adjudged to belong to the crown. All grants taken from the crown since 1st Edward II. till 10th Henry VII. had been resumed by Parliament; and the lands of all absentees and of all that were driven out by the Irish, were by

[1] Leland, vol. ii. p. 453.

various Acts vested again in the crown. . . . Nor did even later grants afford a full security; for if there was any former grant in being, at the time that they were made, . . . or if the patents passed in Ireland were not exactly agreeable to the fiat, and both of these to the king's original warrant transmitted from England; in short, if there was any defect in expressing the tenure, any mistake in point of form, any advantage to be taken from general savings and clauses in the patents, or any exceptions to be made in law (which is fruitful enough in affording them), there was an end of the grant and of the estate that was claimed under it.[1]

General consternation was the result of these proceedings. That the lands held by those who had openly revolted, or even conspired to revolt, should be escheated, was easily understood. But that whole tracts of country should be confiscated from well-disposed and peaceable men, without any offence laid to their charge—that the king should revert 'to the concessions made to Henry II. to invalidate the title derived from a possession of some centuries,'[2] was repugnant to every sense of decency and justice. Still more disgraceful and unjust was the mode of carrying out these measures. Discoverers were everywhere busily engaged—searching the patent rolls in the Tower of London for original grants, to discover flaws in titles, and examining the old pipe rolls to ascertain the original crown-rent charged on estates. Government afforded every facility. 'No means of industry or devices of craft were left untried;' and 'there are not wanting proofs of the most iniquitous practices of hardened cruelty, of vile perjury, and scandalous subornation, employed to despoil the fair and unoffending proprietor of his inheritance.'[3]

In the first instance, a voluntary surrender of estates was demanded, the king promising to make a new grant, with a clear title, of a considerable portion of each to the original proprietor, at an increased rent. This condition, 'owing to the

[1] Carte's 'Life of Ormond,' vol. i. p. 26.

[2] Leland, vol. ii. p. 480; Carte, vol. i. p. 27; and Stearne, MSS. Trinity College, Dublin.

[3] Leland, vol. ii. pp. 483, 484.

interested cupidity of the king's agents,' was but imperfectly complied with. James intended, or professed to intend, that three-fourths of the surrendered lands should be regranted to the ancient proprietors. In reality one-fourth was not so granted. Many were deprived of every acre of their inheritance; and several were removed from the counties where their families had lived for generations to the remotest part of the island.[1] Some refused to make a surrender to the crown; and these were told that 'they must expect justice without favour,' the alarming import of which declaration was fully understood. Juries were packed, and generally found a title for the crown. When they refused to do so they were censured and fined in the castle-chamber.[2]

Again, the discoverers found that, in several ancient grants, rents had been reserved to the crown. In the long periods of war and commotion these rents had not been asked for by the king's officers. They were quite forgotten. The proprietors knew nothing about them. Acquittances were demanded; they could not be produced. The fairest titles availed nothing. The properties were adjudged to belong to the crown, and were forfeited accordingly.

The lands thus seized and planted with British colonists were the sea-board of Leinster between Dublin and Waterford, the counties of Leitrim, Longford, and Westmeath, and the King's and Queen's Counties.[3]

The 'discoverers' next claimed, in the king's name, the whole province of Connaught and the county of Clare. It appears that, in the reign of Elizabeth, the lords and gentlemen of this district, availing of the Act of Parliament recently passed for the purpose,[4] made an arrangement with the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrot, to surrender their estates to the crown, and receive them back with Royal Letters Patent. But the

[1] Lingard, vol. vi. p. 150. [2] Leland, vol. ii. p. 480.

[3] A.D. 1616.

[4] The 12th of Elizabeth, c. 4, A.D. 1570. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. i. p. 367.

surrenders were not enrolled, and the patents were not delivered. To amend this defect, James issued a commission,[1] to receive the surrenders and reconvey the estates by new patents to the proprietors and their heirs, they paying 3000*l.* for their enrolment in Chancery. Although the money was duly paid the enrolment was not made, and it was of this omission the king was now advised to avail.[2] The titles were pronounced defective, and the whole extensive tract was adjudged to be vested in the crown—and this in virtue of an informality which certainly was no fault of the proprietors, but resulted from either the negligence or the wicked design of the officers of the court. These proceedings, based on 'a mere nicety of law which ought to be tenderly made use of, in derogation of the faith and honour of the king's broad seal,'[3] were the more oppressive and galling to the gentlemen of Connaught, that 'there was an act of State made in Lord Grandison's time, and dated May 14, 1618, full in their favour and confirming them in their possessions, and they had paid great sums of money for it into the Exchequer; they were quietly settled in their lands, and paid the king his composition better than any other part of the kingdom.'[4]

They took counsel together. They put no faith in the king's sense of equity. They wisely preferred appealing to his necessities, for they knew that one of the avowed objects of the several plantations was to increase the royal revenue. They offered to double their annual compositions, and to pay a fine of 10,000*l.*, which was computed to be as much as the king could gain by the plantation.[5] The proposal was entertained; the western plantation scheme was suspended; but the completion of the agreement was prevented by the king's death, which took place in 1625.

[1] A.D. 1616. [2] A.D. 1623. Carte's 'Ormond,' vol. i. p. 47.
[3] Ibid. p. 48. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid.

CHAPTER LXI.

ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.—THE CATHOLICS LAY THEIR GRIEVANCES BEFORE THE KING—THEY PETITION HIM FOR A CHARTER OF GRACES IN CONSIDERATION OF THEIR PAYING HIM £120,000—THE MONEY PAID, AND THE GRACES WITHHELD—DISREPUTABLE CONDUCT OF THE LORD DEPUTY WENTWORTH—THE KING'S CLAIM ON CONNAUGHT REVIVED—GENERAL ACTIONS FOR EJECTMENT ON THE TITLE INSTITUTED; BRIBERY OF THE JUDGES; INTIMIDATION AND PUNISHMENT OF JURORS NOT FINDING FOR THE CROWN—FINE, IMPRISONMENT, AND DEATH OF SHERIFF DARCY.

On the accession of Charles I., the hopes of his Irish subjects revived. They were suffering from the disabilities and mortifications they were subjected to by the penal laws. They were suffering no less from the insecurity of their possessions, of which, at any moment, they might be despoiled by the discoverers, as many had been in the preceding reign.

There were besides many other causes of complaint. The people suffered much from the oppressions and extortions of the soldiery, in excursions from their quarters, in collecting the king's rents or supporting the civil power. There were also loud complaints of the Lord Deputy and lords justices punishing the natives, by fine, imprisonment, mutilation of members, pillory, or otherwise, arbitrarily and without law; and making them forfeit their liberty, possessions, and inheritance, merely for infringing an act of State or proclamation, and sentencing the subjects to death by martial law in times of profound peace.

That such tyranny prevailed may well be doubted in our times, but these facts are set forth by the Commons' Committee in their remonstrance of grievances presented to the king, as voted by them of their own knowledge 'to be so clear and manifest that no place was left for denial of proof.'[1]

[1] Commons' Journals.

For the redress of these and all other grievances the Catholics of Ireland looked with confidence to the king. The necessities of Charles at this time[1] compelled him to order that his army of 5,000 foot and 500 horse should be quartered on the different counties and towns of Ireland, which were in turn to maintain them, for three months at a time, supplying them with money, clothes, and victuals. Indeed, we are told that the Roman Catholics of Ireland offered constantly to pay this army, provided they might be tolerated in the exercise of their religion. The toleration they desired was no more than some respite from the oppressions and extortions of the ecclesiastical courts, and to have all proceedings against them in these courts for religion suspended, to be released from those exorbitant sums which they were obliged to pay for their christenings and marriages, and particularly to have the extravagant surplice fees of the Established clergy and the extraordinary warrants for levying them abolished.[2]

Two years later[3] they petitioned the king for a charter of graces, offering him, in consideration thereof, a payment of 120,000*l.* in three yearly subsidies of 40,000*l.* each. These graces were to secure all the subjects of the realm of Ireland in the quiet possession of their estates, to limit the king's title to sixty years, and to declare void all claims of an earlier date.[4] They were to relieve the Catholics from taking the oath of supremacy in certain cases, substituting an oath of loyalty, which they could conscientiously take. They were to enable the proprietors of Connaught to make a new enrolment of their estates, and they were to redress many of the other grievances under which the people suffered.

Charles promised[5] to confirm the graces by legislative enactment. Accordingly, in 1631, he was paid the free gift of 120,000*l.*[6] Carte tells us that 'the Catholics paid near two-

[1] A.D. 1626. Leland, vol. ii. 494. [2] Carte's 'Ormond,' vol. i. p. 50.
[3] A.D. 1628. [4] Carte's 'Ormond,' vol. i. pp 51, 52. [5] A.D. 1628.
[6] Letter of the Lords Justices of February 26, 1631. Strafford's 'State Letters,' vol. i. p. 68.

thirds thereof.' Notwithstanding this, as we shall presently see, the king's good intentions were thwarted, first by the Lord Deputy Wentworth, and ten years later by the Lords Justices Borlase and Parsons.

Conformably with the king's instructions, a Parliament, convened for the double purpose of voting supplies and confirming the graces, met in Dublin Castle on July 16, 1634. By great care in the nomination of sheriffs, by procuring the return of Government candidates for particular places, and by dexterous management of the passions and interests of the members,[1] as well as by threats and promises, Wentworth secured the voting of the supplies and prevented the passing of the graces.

The Commons remonstrated with him thereupon.[2] They stated that they could not sufficiently discharge their duty to his Majesty, or the trust reposed in them by their country, unless they were careful in these great affairs to conserve the honour of his Majesty's word, in that respect passed unto them his people, who had heretofore, by their said agents, presented a free gift of 120,000*l.* to his Majesty, and 150,000*l.* loan money or contribution by them forgiven, and 40,000*l.* in these two last years contributed by the country, amounting in the total to 310,000*l.*, exceeding in proportion their abilities and the precedents of past ages.[3] However, the Lord Deputy was obdurate, the money was kept, and the graces were refused. Yet, in opening their Parliament, Wentworth had told them that 'his Majesty intended to have two sessions of that Parliament, the one for himself and the other for them; so as if they,

[1] Leland, vol. iii. p. 16. How like all this is to Lord Castlereagh's tactics in passing the Act of Union at the close of the last century! We may presume both he and Wentworth considered the means were justified by the end. 'I shall labour,' says Wentworth, 'to make as many captains and officers burgesses in this parliament as I possibly can, who having immediate dependence on the crown, may almost sway the business between the two parties which way they please.'—Carte.

[2] A.D. 1635.

[3] Strafford, 'State Letters,' vol. i. p. 278.

without conditions, supplied the king in this, they might be sure his Majesty would go along with them in the next meeting through all the expressions of a gracious and good king.'

The remonstrance of the Lords was no less ineffectual. 'Both houses,' writes Wentworth, 'pressed extremely for the graces, especially for the law of England,[1] of three score years' possession to conclude his Majesty's title, urging his Majesty's promise at every turn.'[2] He told them that the refusal was his own, 'their request never having been so much as sent over by him, and that passing this Act to prevent inquiry into defective titles was not good and expedient for the kingdom at the time.' He afterwards induced the council to assure his Majesty that 'he was not bound, either in justice, conscience, or honour, to perform the solemn promise he had made to these people for the valuable consideration before mentioned.'

Wentworth openly boasted of his success in this matter. He cared not for appearances. Common decency, justice, the honour of his royal master, were all feathers in the scale against that stern policy of wrong and oppression which, from the starting-point, he made his rule for the government of Ireland. He had entered on his office the year before with a determination to govern with the utmost severity and rigour. Ireland he regarded as a conquered country in the strictest sense.[3] He afterwards avowed and defended this opinion on his impeachment, when it was charged on him as a traitorous principle. His theory was that the king's Irish subjects 'had forfeited the rights of men and citizens.'

Wentworth next proceeded to revive the scheme of the confiscation of Connaught and the county of Clare,[4] although the king had promised to have the proprietors confirmed in their possessions. 'His project was nothing less,' says Leland,[5] 'than to subvert the title to every estate in every part of Connaught,

[1] 21st of James I.
[2] 'State Letters,' vol. i. p. 279.
[3] Leland, vol. iii. p. 10.
[4] A.D. 1635.
[5] 'History of Ireland,' vol. iii. p. 31.

and to establish a new plantation through this whole province, a project which, when first proposed in the late reign, was received with horror and amazement, but which suited the undismayed and enterprising genius of Lord Wentworth.'[1] To establish the title of the Crown, he went back to a grant made four centuries before, which he alleged had passed by marriage to the Duke of York, grandfather of Edward IV., and consequently was the property of his legitimate successor, the reigning monarch.[2] He proceeded to Connaught with judges and soldiers, the former to try the causes, the latter to enforce verdicts for the Crown. He tells us himself that he took the troops, '4,000 horse, as good lookers on, while the plantations were settling.'[3] He prevailed on the king to grant 4*s.* in the pound to the Lords Chief Justice and Chief Baron out of the first yearly rent raised on the commission of defective titles, which he had 'found, upon observation, to be the best given that ever was, for that by these means they did intend that business with as much care and diligence as if it were their own private, and every 4*s.* thus paid would better his Majesty's revenue 4*l.*'[4]

Necessarily there were many compelled verdicts for the Crown. But in some instances, where juries were not quite so compliant, they were forthwith fined and imprisoned. Wentworth himself describes the mode of proceeding in one instance of a jury in the county of Galway, who refused to find a title for the king. 'We bethought ourselves,' says he, 'of a course to vindicate his Majesty's honour and justice, not only against the person of the jurors, but also against the sheriff, for returning so insufficient, indeed, we conceive, so packed a jury, and therefore we fined the sheriff in 1,000*l.* to his Majesty.'[5]

[1] 'History of Ireland,' vol. iii. p. 31.
[2] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 32, and Lingard, vol. vi. p. 340.
[3] Strafford's 'State Letters,' vol. i. p. 454.
[4] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 41. Letter of December 9, 1636.
[5] Ibid. vol. i. p. 451. Letter of August 1635.

As regards the jurors, they were fined 4,000*l.* each, their estates were seized, and themselves imprisoned till the fines were paid. The sheriff died in prison. The jury were further condemned to acknowledge their offence in open court on their knees.[1] At one time Wentworth contemplated the execution of the sheriff, but even he must have shrunk from the perpetration of so flagrant a crime. He writes to Wandesford, afterwards Lord Deputy, 'I am full of belief they will lay the charge of Darcye the sheriff's death to me. My arrows are cruel that wound so mortally, but I should be more sorry by much the king should lose his fine; therefore, I pray you, consult it thoroughly with the judges.'[2]

Even had this system of terrorism failed to enforce verdicts for the Crown, the Lord Deputy had another expedient in reserve by which he felt sure he could not fail to attain his object. This was a resort to the Parliament which he had so packed that, as he writes to the Secretary of State, 'the Protestants are the majority, and this may be of great use to confirm and settle his Majesty's title to the plantations of Connaught and Ormond; for this you may be sure of, all the Protestants are for plantations, all the other against them; so as these, being the great number, you can want no help they can give you therein. Nay, in case there be no title to be made good to these countries in the Crown, yet should not I despair, forth of reasons of state, and for the strength and security of the kingdom, to have them passed to the king by an immediate Act of Parliament.'[3]

These unjust and unconstitutional proceedings were not confined to Connaught alone. Actions for ejectment on the title were instituted in the other provinces. Several proprietors escaped by the payment of large sums as compositions. Among

[1] Leland, 'History of Ireland,' vol. iii. p. 34.

[2] This letter is dated London, July 25, 1636, and is addressed by the Lord Deputy to Christopher Wandesford, Esq., Master of the Rolls, and one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. Strafford, 'State Letters,' vol. ii. p. 13.

[3] Strafford, 'State Letters,' vol. i. p. 353. Letter of December 16, 1634.

others the O'Byrnes of Wicklow preserved a portion of their estates by a payment of 15,000*l.*, and the city of London was sued for breach of covenant in the plantations of Derry and Colrain, and their forfeit lands redeemed by a fine of 70,000*l.*[1]

Meanwhile, an indignant outcry against the confiscation of Connaught was raised all over the kingdom; the troubles in England were also increasing, and the Lord Deputy's grand scheme of spoliation had to be abandoned. Thus, notwithstanding all the pains taken, the protracted legal farce and the final decision to order establishing the king's title, the western proprietors were left in possession of their estates. But the several attempts to deprive them of their possessions of centuries not only inflicted a wound both deep and galling on those immediately concerned, but tended much to alienate the whole nation from a rule that could authorize, or even tolerate, such proceedings.

CHAPTER LXII.

PERSECUTION AND OPPRESSION OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS UNDER THE STUARTS—COURT OF WARDS—HIGH COMMISSION COURT—CASTLE CHAMBER—TORTURING OF JURORS—OPPRESSIONS AND EXACTIONS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS—DESCRIPTION BY COTEMPORARIES OF THE ESTABLISHED CLERGY OF THE DAY—MEANS EMPLOYED FOR THE PLANTING OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION IN IRELAND.

As at this period the persecution and oppression of the Irish Catholics had reached its height, it may be well to glance at the several grievances under which they laboured.

First were the oppressive powers of the Court of Wards and the Court of High Commission. The Court of Wards was established in Ireland in 1614, the 11th of James I. Carte tells us 'it had no warrant from any law or statute as that in England had.'[2]

[1] Leland, vol. iii. p. 40.

[2] 'Life of Ormond,' vol. i. p. 517.

Under this court, the Catholic heir, if a minor, was educated in the Protestant faith. Its president was Sir William Parsons, by whom it was originally planned. The Catholics of Ireland bitterly complained to the king of 'the illegal, arbitrary, and unlawful proceedings of the said Sir William Parsons, and one of the said impeached judges, and their adherents and instruments, in the Court of Wards, and the many wilfully erroneous decrees and judgments of that court, by which the heirs of Catholic noblemen and other Catholics were most cruelly and tyrannically dealt withal, destroyed in their estates, and bred in dissolution and ignorance, their parents' debts unsatisfied, their younger brothers and sisters left wholly unprovided for, the ancient and appearing tenures of mesne lands unregarded, estates valid in law and made for valuable considerations avoided against law, and the whole land filled up with the frequent swarms of escheators, feodaries, poursuivants, and others, by authority of that court.'[1]

The High Commission Court was established by Wentworth in Dublin in the year 1633, after the English model, 'with the same formality,' says Leland, 'and the same tremendous powers. Its establishment was too odious, and therefore too dangerous, to be attempted during the sessions of Parliament.'[2] Its object, Wentworth tells us,[3] was 'to bring the people here to a conformity in religion, and, in the way to that, raise, perhaps, a good revenue to the Crown.' It was complained of by the Catholics on account of 'the incapacity thereby contracted for all offices and employments, their disability to sue out livery of their estates without taking the oath of supremacy, and the severe penalties of various kinds inflicted by that court on all those of their religion, they being one hundred to one more than those of any other religion.'[4] In fact, this court was a

[1] The remonstrance of the Catholics of Ireland, delivered to his Majesty's Commissioners at Trim, March 17, 1642.

[2] 'History of Ireland,' vol. iii. p. 29.

[3] 'State Letters,' vol. i. p. 188. Letter of January 31, 1633.

[4] Remonstrance from Trim.

most efficient machine for carrying out, to the fullest extent, the provisions of the odious statute of the 2nd of Elizabeth, chapter i.

Next came the severities of the Castle Chamber. In the Castle Chamber—sometimes called the Star Chamber, inasmuch as its objects and practices were similar to the infamous Star Chamber in London[1]—jurors, who would not find for the Crown, were imprisoned, fined, and sometimes tortured—barbarous proceedings, of which we find it difficult to believe the records that have come down to us.

'The Star Chamber,' says the Lord Deputy Chichester, 'is the proper court to punish jurors who will not find a verdict for the king, upon good evidence,' the punishment being fine and imprisonment.[2] The remonstrance of the Lords and Commons' agents in 1613 states, that 'in the trial of criminal causes and men's lives (which the law doth much favour), the juries are threatened by your Majesty's counsel at law to be brought into the Star Chamber, insomuch that it is great danger for any innocent man, if he be accused upon malice or upon light ground of suspicion, the jurors, being terrified through fear of imprisonment, loss of ears and of their goods, may condemn him.'[3] Among the offences laid to Wentworth's charge on his impeachment, were the following, taken from the statement of grievances voted 'real' by the Commons in 1640, 'that jurors who gave their verdicts according to their consciences, were censured in the Castle Chamber in great fines; sometimes pilloried, with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked in the forehead with an iron, with other infamous punishments.'[4]

[1] See Macaulay, 'History of England,' vol. i. p. 89, on the Star Chamber and High Commission Court of England. 'Foremost in power and in infamy among a class of courts, the memory of which is still, after a lapse of more than two centuries, held in deep abhorrence by the nation.' Also Carte's 'Ormond,' vol. i. p. 143.

[2] 'Desid. Curios. Hiberniæ,' vol. i. p. 262.

[3] Ibid. vol. i. p. 263.

[4] Commons Journals, vol. i.

Then there were the oppressions and exactions of the ecclesiastical courts. As, by the 28th of Henry VIII., chapters v., vi., and xiii., all recourse to the Pope's jurisdiction in matters spiritual was prohibited, these courts exercised jurisdiction over all the subjects of the Crown in Ireland, and their sentences were, by the statute, pronounced definite to all intents, with power to appeal to the king alone, from whom, as supreme head of the Church they held their commission. They took cognizance of all marriages, baptisms, burials, wills, and administrations, punished recusants (that is, Catholics) for not going to church, under the 2nd of Elizabeth, chapter ii., and exercised very stringent powers in the important item of processes for tithes.

These courts are described as follows by Bishop Burnet in his life of Doctor Bedel, Bishop of Kilmore:—'They were often managed by a chancellor that bought his place, and so thought he had a right to all the profits he could make out of it. And their whole business seemed to be nothing but oppression and extortion. The solemnest and sacredest of all church censures, which was excommunication, went about in so sordid and base a manner that regard to it as it was a spiritual censure was lost, and the effects it had in law made it be cried out upon as an intolerable piece of tyranny. The officers of the court thought they had a sort of right to oppress the natives, and that all was well got that was wrung from them.' He also tells us that 'the officers of the ecclesiastical courts made it their business to draw people into trouble by vexatious suits, and to hold them so long in, that, for threepenceworth of the tithe of turf, they would be put to 5*l.* charge.[1]

The following injunction from the proposed Act of Graces will show what a powerful engine of oppression these courts were in the hands of the clergy of the Establishment at the time:—'That no extraordinary warrants of assistance touching

[1] 'Life of Bedel,' p. 89.

clandestine marriages, christenings, or burials, or any contumacies pretended against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are to be issued or executed by any chief governor; nor are the clergy to be permitted to keep any private prisons of their own for these causes, but delinquents in that kind are to be committed to the king's public gaols and by the king's officers.'

From this it would appear that, not only used the clergy to sit as judges in causes in which they were themselves directly interested as parties, but more—they often acted as the executive in carrying into effect the sentences of pains and penalties they themselves pronounced against those who refused to adopt their dogmas or to submit to their extortions. They had 'private prisons of their own for these causes,' and to these prisons they themselves committed the recusants without the decency of the intervention of a king's officer!

Unfortunately such abuses were not of a temporary nature. We find their correction engaging the attention of the authorities a century later. Thus, Archbishop Boulter, the Lord Primate of all Ireland, writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury, under date 'Dublin, February 13, 1727,'—'We have likewise excluded clergymen from being the justices before whom such causes (tithes and other ecclesiastical dues under 40s.) may be tried, that they might not play the game into one another's hands, for in many places here one fourth or fifth of the resident justices are clergymen for want of resident gentlemen.'[1] In the same letter he states:—'There are probably in this kingdom five Papists at least to one Protestant: we have incumbents and curates to the number of 800, whilst there are near 3,000 Popish priests of all sorts here.'

In the Commons' remonstrance to the Lord Deputy in 1640, complaining of the 'many grievous exactions, pressures, and other vexatious proceedings of the clergy of this kingdom, and their officers and ministers, against the laity, and especially the

[1] 'Boulter's Letters,' p. 171. Dublin edition of 1770.

poorer sort, to the great impoverishing and general detriment of the whole kingdom,' it is stated that, after many debates, 'it was conceived, by the unanimous votes of the house, that all of them were very great and enormous grievances. Some whereof being most exorbitant and barbarous, they were of opinion ought to be quite abolished, being repugnant to law and reason, and the rest to be reformed.'[1]

The clergy of the Established Church of that day were indeed a very different class of men from their successors, the excellent and highly exemplary Protestant clergy of our times. They are described by Carte[2] as 'themselves generally ignorant and unlearned, loose and irregular in their lives and conversations, negligent of their cures, and very careless of observing decency and uniformity in Divine worship.' Wentworth, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, calls them 'an unlearned clergy, who have not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover themselves withal, nor their persons any way reverenced or protected; the churches unbuilt, the people untaught, through the non-residence of the clergy, occasioned by unlimited shameful numbers of spiritual promotions with cure of souls, which they hold by commendams, the bishops alienating their very principal houses and demesnes to their children, to strangers, and farming out their jurisdiction to mean and unworthy persons.'[3]

The poet Spenser, secretary to Lord Leonard Grey, Lord Deputy of Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth, says:—

> For the clergy there (excepting the grave fathers which are in high place about the State, and some few others which are lately planted in their new College[4]), are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered.[5]

---

[1] 'Commons Journals,' vol. i. p. 258. [2] Vol. i. p. 68.

[3] Strafford's 'State Letters,' vol. i. p. 187. Letter of January 31, 1633.

[4] New College. For Trinity College, see Appendix XXII.

[5] 'A view of the State of Ireland, written dialogue-wise between Eudoxus and Irenæus, by Edmund Spenser, Esq., in the yeare 1596.' Dublin reprint, 1809, p. 143. For Edmund Spenser, see Appendix No. XIV.

Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England ye may find there, and many more: namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergyman. And besides all these, they have their particular enormities; for all Irish priests which now enjoy the Church livings, they are in a manner mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders, but likewise they do go and live like laymen, follow all kinds of husbandry and other worldly affairs as other Irishmen do. They neither read Scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the Communion, but baptism they do, for they christen after the Popish fashion, only they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruit else they may of their livings, the which they convert as badly, and some of them (they say) pay, as due, tributes and shares of their livings to their bishops (I speak of those which are Irish), as they receive them duly.[1]

The Irish bishops have their clergy in such awe and subjection under them that they dare not complain of them, so as they may do to them as they please, for they, knowing their own unworthiness and incapacity, and that they are therefore still removable at their bishop's will, yield what pleaseth him, and he taketh what he listeth: yea, and some of them whose dioceses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the world's eye, do not at all bestow the benefices which are in their own donation, upon any, but keep them in their own hands, and set their own servants and horse-boys to take up the tithes and fruits of them, with the which some of them purchase great lands, and build fair castles upon the same.[2]

Such were the instruments employed by England to convert the Irish to Protestantism—civil disability, persecution, exactions, confiscation of goods and lands, torture, in some instances forfeit of life, and, though last not least, 'a generally bad, licentious, and most disordered clergy,' guilty of 'gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life'! How different all this from the means employed by the Divine Founder of Christianity! How repugnant to the spirit and teachings of His Gospel—a message of peace and holiness, a testament of beneficence and universal charity to mankind! What a contrast, too, to the holy lives

[1] 'View of the State of Ireland,' p. 140. [2] Ibid.

and devoted zeal of the Catholic priests of those times, who, hiding in dens and caverns, and frequently hunted down like wild beasts by the persecutors of their faith, endured hunger, cold, and every other privation, and in many instances died on the scaffold, for administering instruction and religious consolation to their flocks!

In planting of religion (says Spenser), thus much is needful to be observed: that it be not sought forcibly to be impressed into them with terror and sharp penalties, as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it is understood, and their professors despised and rejected. And therefore it is expedient that some discreet ministers of their own countrymen be first sent over amongst them, which, by their meek persuasions and instructions, as also by their sober lives and conversations, may draw them first to understand, and afterwards to embrace, the doctrine of their salvation, ... wherein it is great wonder to see the odds which is between the zeal of popish priests and the ministers of the Gospel; for they spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome and from Remes, by long toil and dangerous travelling hither, where they know peril of death awaiteth them, and no reward or riches is to be found, only to draw the people unto the Church of Rome; whereas some of our idle ministers, having a way for credit and estimation thereby opened unto them, without pains and without peril, will neither for the same nor any love of God, nor zeal of religion, nor for all the good they may do by winning souls to God, be drawn forth from their warm nests, to look out unto God's harvest, which is now ready for the sickle, and all the fields yellow long ago. Doubtless, the good old godly fathers will (I fear me) rise up in the day of judgment to condemn them.[1]

[1] 'View of the State of Ireland,' p. 253.

CHAPTER LXIII.

REBELLION OF 1641—INFAMOUS CONDUCT OF THE LORDS JUSTICES; THEY FORCE THE LORDS AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PALE INTO REBELLION—10,000,000 ACRES OF PROFITABLE LAND ASSUMED BY THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT TO HAVE BEEN FORFEITED BY THE INSURGENTS; 2,500,000 ACRES SET APART TO PAY THE EXPENSES OF THE WAR—CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY—PEACE CONCLUDED.

ONCE again the Catholics of Ireland petitioned the king for a redress of their grievances and the fulfilment of his royal promise by confirming the long-deferred Act of Graces.[1] For this purpose a committee of Parliament waited on his Majesty in England. Charles ordered the Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase[2] to assure his good subjects in Ireland that his princely promise formerly passed unto them (to redress these and several other grievances) should be speedily performed; and to that end he required that bills might be transmitted to their lordships and the council for securing their estates, touching the limitation of his title not to extend above three score years, and all the other graces.[3] The lords justices, taking advantage of the king's waning power and consequent inability to enforce his orders, and 'acting everything in Ireland by the influence of the Puritan faction in the English Parliament,'[4] contrived to prorogue the Parliament without passing the bills, and thus the hopes of his Majesty's Irish subjects were totally extinguished.

The whole administration of the Government of Ireland in this and the preceding reign could have but one result. James and his son might have gained wisdom from the sad experience of their predecessors. Even the ministers of the Crown might have derived light for the well-ordering of the future from the failures of the past. But no: they appear to have been equally devoid of human prudence and Christian feeling. The oppor-

[1] A.D. 1640. [2] May 3, 1641.
[3] Carte's 'Ormond,' vol. i. p. 143, and Commons Journals. [4] Carte.

tunity of spoliation and oppression was too tempting to be foregone. They found Ireland prostrate at their feet. No power of resistance apparently was there. Trampled on as she had been, she might now with impunity be trampled on more. The penal laws of Elizabeth were evoked into full activity; the national religion was proscribed and relentlessly persecuted; a creed which they believed to be heretical was sought to be forced by grievous pains and penalties on the people. Add to this confiscations by open violence, confiscations by a demoralizing system of fraud and chicane countenanced by the state, confiscations by processes the most unjust and iniquitous under the guise of law, open bribery of judges, intimidation of jurors, the terrorism and cruelties of the Castle Chamber, breach of faith by the monarch, breach of faith by his deputy, the insecurity of all property, the oppressions and exactions of the soldiery, the no less galling oppressions and exactions of the Established clergy, and innumerable other phases of civil disability, annoyance, and injustice. Again and again had the victims remonstrated. Again and again had their earnest and respectful remonstrances been contumeliously spurned from the foot of the throne. Turn which way they would, justice and toleration were denied them. They were driven to desperation. The long-smouldering fires at length burst forth. The people of Ulster, who had been expelled from their homes to starve in the woods and mountains, swept like a torrent over the plains where their ancestors had dwelt for centuries.[1] In one week O'Neill found himself at the head of 30,000 desperate men.

At first, only those who resisted the insurgents were put to the sword. No indiscriminate massacre was committed. Such was the original scheme of the conspiracy.[2] The Scotch settlers were not disturbed. The English were either imprisoned or driven from their habitations naked, destitute, and exposed to the inclemency of a severe season and the horrors of famine.[3]

[1] October 23, 1641. [2] Warner, p. 47. [3] Leland, vol. iii. p. 122.

But resistance aroused fiercer passions. The original plan of repossessing themselves of their estates with as little violence as possible was soon forgotten. Fearful cruelties were perpetrated on both sides; and the flames of rebellion, spreading from the north, in a short time involved the whole kingdom.

The lords and gentlemen of the Pale, seeing their land wasted, their goods plundered, and their tenants murdered, repaired in great numbers to Dublin, and applied to Government for arms and authority to array themselves on the side of order and loyalty. Their application was insultingly refused, and they were ordered by proclamation, bearing date October 28, 1641, to depart from Dublin within twenty-four hours, under pain of death. A second proclamation threatened with penalty of death all who should wilfully harbour them in the capital. Thus, although most loyally disposed, these Catholic gentlemen, of English descent, were forced by the interested designs of Government to raise the standard of revolt.[1] In doing so they solemnly declared that, as the Scots had appealed to the sword in defence of their liberties and religion, and their conduct had been approved of by the king and Parliament of England, they conceived the Irish were entitled to resort to the same appeal; and that therefore they would not lay down their arms until they had obtained an acknowledgment of the independence of the Irish on the English Parliament, the repeal of all degrading disabilities on the ground of religion, the free exercise of the Catholic worship, the confirmation of the graces, which they had purchased at an enormous expense, and of

[1] 'That part of the Irish,' says Lord Clarendon, 'which inhabited the Pale, so called from a circuit of ground contained in it, was originally of English extraction, since the first plantation of the English many ages past, and though they were degenerated into the manners and barbarous customs of the Irish, and were as stupidly transported with the highest superstition of the Romish religion, yet they had always steadily adhered to the crown, and performed the duty of good subjects during all those rebellions which the whole reign of Elizabeth was seldom without.'—Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion,' vol. iii. p. 156.

which they had been defrauded by two successive prorogations of Parliament with a view to the confiscation of their estates, and finally the employment of natives in the civil and military offices in Ireland, now exclusively filled by low-born, needy adventurers simply because they were Protestants and Englishmen.[1]

The example of the Pale decided all waverers. Within a few months from the commencement of the outbreak all the people of Ireland were in arms for the defence of their property, liberties, and religion, except the English garrisons, and Galway retained in obedience by the Earl of Clanrickarde.

The Lords Justices Borlase and Parsons, who governed in the absence of the Deputy (the Earl of Leicester, then in England), are severely censured by cotemporary writers for their disposition to foment this rebellion rather than to suppress it.[2] They were frequently heard to say, 'the more rebels, the more confiscations.' Such is the evidence of Lord Castlehaven, who witnessed what was passing in Ireland at the time.[3] Manifestly on this, as on all similar occasions, 'extensive forfeitures were the favourite object of the chief governors and their friends.'[4] 'Whatever were their professions,' the only danger they really apprehended was that of a speedy suppression of the rebels.'[5]

At first reinforcements came over slowly, but in time the royal army of Ireland was raised to a considerable effective force. By several successive arrivals of troops from England and Scotland, it was eventually increased to 50,000 men. The English Parliament, with the reluctant consent of the king, passed an Act[6] reserving 2,500,000 acres of arable, meadow, and pasture land in Ireland, out of 10,000,000 acres, assumed to have been already forfeited by the insurgents, as security for

[1] December 3, 1641.
[2] 'Letters of Lord Clanrickarde,' &c. [3] 'Memoirs of Castlehaven,' p. 31.
[4] Leland, vol. iii. p. 166. [5] Ibid.
[6] February, 1642, Act 17 Caroli. Called the Act of Subscription.

money advanced in England for the expenses of the war.[1] The same Parliament, as if determined to drive the Irish to desperation, had previously passed a resolution that they would never consent to the toleration of the Popish religion in Ireland, or any other his Majesty's dominions.[2]

These measures were a further proof to the Irish, if such were needed, that the war they were engaged in was for their properties, liberty, and religion. It was, in truth, a war of extermination. The orders of the Lords Justices and Council to the army were:—'To wound, kill, slay, and destroy all the rebels and their adherents and relievers, and burn, spoil, waste, consume, destroy, and demolish all the places, towns, and houses where the rebels were or have been relieved or harboured, and all the corn and hay there, and to kill and destroy all the men there inhabiting able to bear arms.'[3] In the execution of these orders, the Lords Justices declare that the soldiers murdered all persons promiscuously, not sparing the women, and sometimes not the children.[4] 'Can any one think after this,' says Dr. Warner, 'that these Lords Justices had any reason to complain of the cruelties committed by the ignorant and savage Irish?'[5]

It is unnecessary to dwell here on the painful details of this protracted rebellion. They will be found in any history of Ireland.

We have already seen how the chief governors rejected the overtures of the loyal Catholics of Ireland. These lords and gentlemen, together with the clergy, immediately proceeded to organize a great national confederation for self-defence, adopting this motto, 'Pro Deo, pro rege, et patriâ Hibernià unanimes.'[6] The first act of the 'Confederates,' who met at Kilkenny, was

[1] Petty says that two-thirds of the 19,000,000 acres in Ireland were considered profitable. Therefore the British Parliament evidently contemplated the confiscation of all save the possessions of Protestants.

[2] December 8, 1641.

[3] Carte's 'Life of Ormond,' vol. iii. p. 61.

[4] Leland, vol. iii. p. 177.

[5] 'History of the Irish Rebellion.'

[6] Borlase, 'Irish Rebellion,' p. 128.

to draw up a dutiful address to his Majesty, setting forth that, having apprehended, with the fulness of sorrow, the condition to which the misrepresentations of his Majesty's ministers in Ireland, united with the malignant party in England, had reduced them, and sad experience having taught them that a resolution was taken to supplant their nation and religion, they humbly conceived it necessary to put themselves in a posture of natural defence; with the intention, nevertheless, never to disturb his Majesty's government, to invade any of his high prerogatives, or oppress any of his British subjects, of what religion soever, that did not labour to oppress them, which intention, in the beginning of the troubles, they had solemnly sworn to observe; an oath often since reiterated, lest the misguided and unauthorized motions of some among them should be construed to derogate from that faith and allegiance, which in all humbleness they confessed they owed, and sincerely professed unto his Majesty; that, before any act of hostility committed on their parts, they had, with all submission, addressed themselves, by petition, to the Lords Justices and Council for a timely remedy against the then growing evils; but that therein they had found, instead of a salve for their wounds, oil poured into the fire of their discontents, which occasioned such intemperance in the common people, that they acted some unwarrantable cruelties upon Puritans, or others suspected of puritanism, which cruelties they really detested, had punished in part, and desired to punish with fulness of severity in all the other actors of them, though the great cruelties inflicted on the Catholic population, with the authority and sanction of his Majesty's servants, had not deserved that justice from them. They concluded by humbly beseeching his Majesty to appoint a place where, with safety, they might express their grievances, and he might apply a seasonable cure unto them.[1]

In compliance with the prayer of this petition, the king

[1] Carte's 'Ormond,' vol. iii. p. 110.

issued a commission to the Marquis of Ormond, the Earls of Clanrickarde and Roscommon, Lord Viscount Moore, and Thomas Bourke, Esq., any three or more of them to meet and act for the purpose. 'But these Lords Justices,' says Lord Ormond, 'taking this commission for a step towards the peace of the kingdom and their own ruin,'[1] and 'being displeased,' says Clarendon, 'that even a wish or consent should be discovered in any man that the war, from which so many promised themselves revenge and fortunes, should be any other way ended than with the blood and confiscation of all those whom they could propose to be guilty of the defection,'[2] contrived to hinder, delay, and ultimately prevent its being carried into effect.

Subsequently there were several attempts at an arrangement between the confederates and Ormond, the king's lieutenant. But Charles, however well disposed, was unable, against the will of his Parliament, to grant that religious toleration and other measures of justice which the confederates made a condition of peace. However, when the news of the king's being in danger reached them, their loyalty predominated, peace was concluded on the terms proposed by Ormond—terms which, though short of their demands, were received with satisfaction by the clergy and laity; and the former, by exhortations and circulars, urged that the peace thus happily concluded should be strictly observed throughout the whole country.

[1] Ormond's Letters in Carte, vol. iii. p. 124.
[2] 'History of the Irish Rebellion.'

CHAPTER LXIV.

CROMWELL'S WARS IN IRELAND—HIS SANGUINARY POLICY—EFFECTS OF THE ELEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1641–1652—DESCRIPTION OF THE DESOLATION OF THE COUNTRY BY ONE OF CROMWELL'S OFFICERS.

NEARLY eight years of bloodshed and disorder had elapsed from the commencement of the rebellion, when the Parliament of England, having brought Charles to the block, was at length free to turn its undivided attention to the affairs of Ireland.[1] Cromwell was sent over, with the title of Lord Lieutenant, and landed in Dublin, on August 15, 1649, with 8,000 foot soldiers, 4,000 horse, a large sum of money, a formidable train of artillery, and all other necessaries of war.[2] The Irish were then arrayed under Ormond, led by whom they had fought the battles of Charles against the Parliamentary forces since the peace of 1648. Cromwell took measures forthwith to crush the 'Irish malignants,' whose greatest crime, in his eyes, was their unshaken fidelity to the fallen fortunes of the royal family. His mode of warfare was one well calculated to strike terror into the enemy. Of this, one or two instances will suffice. His veterans had been twice repulsed in the storming of Drogheda.[3] The third attempt, headed by Cromwell himself, was successful. 'Quarter had been promised to all who should lay down their arms—a promise observed until all resistance was at an end. But at the moment that the city was completely reduced, Cromwell, with an infernal calmness and deliberation, resolved, by one effectual execution, to terrify the whole Irish party. He is-

[1] January 30, 1649.

[2] Cromwell landed in Ireland August 15, 1649. He remained nine months in the country, re-embarking for England May 29, 1650. He left his son-in-law Ireton, the Lord-President of Munster, to command the army. Ireton died of the distemper in Limerick the same year, and Fleetwood, who married his widow, was, through Cromwell's interest, appointed to succeed him as Lord-Deputy.

[3] September 3, 1649.

sued his fatal orders that the garrison should be put to the sword. His soldiers, many of them with reluctance, butchered the prisoners. The governor, and all his gallant officers, betrayed to slaughter by the cowardice of some of their troops, were massacred without mercy. For five days this hideous execution was continued with every circumstance of horror.'[1] A number of ecclesiastics found within the walls were bayoneted by the orders of Cromwell. Some few of the garrison escaped in disguise. 'Thirty persons only remained unslaughtered by an enemy glutted and oppressed by carnage, and these were instantly transported as slaves to Barbadoes.'[2] A similar scene was enacted at Wexford, where all found with arms were put to the sword, 'with an execution as horribly deliberate as that of Drogheda.'[3]

This sanguinary policy had the intended effect. In three years the Cromwellian veterans had overborne all opposition. In 1652 the 'Popish malignants' were completely crushed, and the rebellion was at an end.

The effects of these eleven years' war (1641 to 1652) may best be judged of by the following extract from a cotemporary writer:—

> Whereas (says Sir William Petty), the present proportion of the British is as 3 to 11, but before the wars the proportion was less, viz. as 2 to 11, and then it follows that the number of British slain in eleven years was 112,000 souls. . . . It follows also that above 504,000 of the Irish perished, and were wasted by the sword, plague, famine, hardship, and banishment, between October 23, 1641, and the same day 1652.
>
> If Ireland had continued in peace for the said eleven years, then the 1,466,000 had increased by generation in that time to 73,000 more, making in all 1,539,000, which were by the said wars brought, *anno* 1652, to 850,000, so that were lost 689,000 souls, for whose blood somebody should answer both to God and the king.
>
> Anno 1653, debentures were freely and openly sold for 4*s.* and 5*s.* per pound; and 20*s.* of debenture, one place with another, did purchase

[1] Leland, vol. iii. p. 361.

[2] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 362. See Macaulay's 'History of England,' vol. i. p. 130.

[3] Leland.

two acres of land; at which rate all the land of Ireland, if it were eight millions of profitable acres, might have been had for a million of money, which, *anno* 1641, was worth above eight millions.

The cattle and stock which, *anno* 1641, was worth above four millions, reckoning one beef of 20*s.* value, or the equivalent of other stocks to two acres; but, *anno* 1652, the people of Dublin fetched meat from Wales, there being none here, and the whole cattle of Ireland not worth 500,000*l.*

Corn was then 50*s.* per barrel, which is now, and was in 1641, under 12*s.*

The houses of Ireland, *anno* 1641, were worth two millions and a half; but *anno* 1652, not worth 500,000*l.*[1]

Some idea of the desolation of the country at this period may be formed from the following account by one of Cromwell's officers:—

About the year 1652 and 1653 (writes Colonel Lawrence, an eye witness), the plague and famine had so swept away whole countries that a man might travel twenty or thirty miles and not see a living creature, either man, beast, or bird, they being all dead, or had quitted these desolate places. Our soldiers would tell stories of where they saw a smoke by day, or fire or candle by night, and when we did meet with two or three poor cabins, none but very aged men, women, and children (and those with the prophet might have complained—'We are become as a bottle in the smoke, our skin is black like an oven, because of the terrible famine') were found in them.[2]

Let us here pause for a moment and look back on this sad era of cruelty, wrong, and spoliation, closed by eleven years of massacres and war, waged in its most merciless and revolting form. Manifestly the blame of these evils lay entirely at the door of the Government. Their policy—a policy equally short-sighted and inhuman—appears to have been prompted by two leading ideas: the extirpation of the Catholics, and the gaining possession of their estates. 'The favourite object of both the Irish Government and the English Parliament,' says Leland,

[1] 'Political Anatomy of Ireland.' Petty's Tracts, Dublin edition of 1769, pp. 312-315.

[2] 'Interest of Ireland,' by Colonel Lawrence, pt. ii. p. 86.

'was the utter extermination of all the Catholics of Ireland. Their estates were already marked out and allotted to their conquerors, so that they and their posterity were consigned to inevitable ruin. They grew desperate and violent, abandoned all thoughts of treaty and pardon, and relied solely on their arms.' [1]

The ill-fated Charles himself, who was much better disposed than his ministers, but who possessed neither the firmness nor the power to do justice to his subjects in Ireland, has left on record his marked disapproval of the proceedings of his representatives in that country.[2]

But, unfortunately, on this, as on many other occasions in the history of Ireland, the better feelings of the monarch were neutralized and his good intentions thwarted by the cupidity and other bad passions of his ministers. This was not the least of the many evils arising from the total absence of the sovereign, and the consequent delegation of his powers and functions to men in whom self-interest predominated over regard to the honour of their royal master and zeal for the public good. At the time it was obviously not alone a matter of feeling, but a consideration of sound policy in Charles, to deal justly by his oppressed subjects in Ireland. The troubles nearer home thickly gathering around him, rendered it all important to him to avail himself to the utmost of the loyal devotion of those who, in return for wrong and insult, were ready to rally round his throne, and defend with their lives and fortunes the royal prerogative and person.

But, as we have already seen, the chief governors of Ireland willed otherwise. Their selfish interests pointed in quite the opposite direction. Therefore, by them and the Parliament of England, it was resolved that the great game of spoliation should be played out to the end; and so, in the words of Sir William Petty, 'upon the playing of this game or match, upon

[1] Leland, vol. iii. p. 171. Warner, p. 176. [2] 'Eikon Basilikè,' chap. xii.

so great odds, the English won, and have, among and besides other pretences, a gambler's right at least to their estates: but as for the blood shed in the contest, God best knows who did occasion it.'[1]

CHAPTER LXV.

CROMWELL'S FURTHER MEASURES—EXPATRIATION OF THE IRISH—ILLUSTRIOUS DESCENDANTS OF EXPATRIATED IRISHMEN—THE IRISH BRIGADE; GEORGE II.'S REMARKS ON ITS GALLANT BEARING AT THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN—DEPORTATION BY CROMWELL OF THE IRISH TO THE WEST INDIES—HIGH COMMISSION COURTS—BANISHMENT OF ALL IRISH AND CATHOLICS TO CONNAUGHT AND CLARE—MARTIAL LAW ESTABLISHED—DISTRIBUTION OF THE FORFEITED LANDS AMONG THE SOLDIERS—PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS—ALL PRIESTS ORDERED, UNDER PAIN OF DEATH, TO LEAVE IRELAND; SEVERAL DISCOVERED AND EXECUTED.

CROMWELL and his successors in the government, finding it impossible to extirpate the Irish Catholics, permitted the leaders to emigrate, taking with them a number of their countrymen. Thus were got rid of 30,000 to 40,000 able-bodied men of 'the malignants,' who might have been very troublesome had they remained at home.[2] They entered, as soldiers, the service of foreign powers, viz. France, Austria, Venice, and Spain, chiefly the last. This emigration is thus touchingly alluded to by Moore, in one of his beautiful melodies, written at the commencement of the Peninsular war:—

> Ye Blakes and O'Donnels, whose fathers resigned
> The green hills of their youth, among strangers to find
> That repose which at home they had sighed for in vain,
> Breathe a hope that the magical flame which you light
> May be felt yet in Erin, as calm and as bright,
> And forgive even Albion, while blushing she draws,
> Like a truant, her sword in the long slighted cause
> Of the shamrock of Erin and olive of Spain.

[1] 'Political Anatomy of Ireland.' Tracts, p. 317.

[2] 'There were transported of them into Spain, Flanders, France, 34,000 soldiers, and of boys, women, priests, &c., no less than 6,000 more.'—Petty's 'Political Anatomy of Ireland,' p. 313.

Among the many illustrious descendants of Irishmen expatriated on this and subsequent occasions, we are familiar in our day with the names of Field-Marshal Count Nugent of Austria, O'Donnel Duke of Tetuan, prime minister of Spain, and Marshals Neil and MacMahon of France. Of these materials, too, were formed the celebrated Irish Brigade, and other Irish regiments, so highly distinguished in foreign services. It is related that George II., having witnessed the gallant bearing of the Irish fighting in the French van against his troops at the battle of Dettingen,[1] exclaimed, 'Accursed be the laws which have deprived me of such subjects!' Well indeed may we say, with the monarch, Accursed be the laws which arrayed such soldiers in many a hard-fought field against that great empire which, under a just and paternal rule, they would have died to defend: accursed be those laws which drove them, exiles for ever, from the land of their fathers:—

> the land of their heart's hope they never saw more,
> For in far foreign fields, from Dunkirk and Belgrade,
> Lie the soldiers and chiefs of the Irish Brigade.—*Davis.*

The next question was how to dispose of the families of the emigrants, as also of the orphans of those who had perished by the sword, famine, and plague, and the multitudes reduced to utter destitution by the protracted wars and troubles of the country. This difficulty was summarily dealt with. These unfortunate people were, at different times, collected together, forced on board ship, and carried to the West Indies. The numbers thus deported are variously estimated at from 6,000 up to 100,000. The truth probably lies between.[2] That they were forcibly taken is clear from the fact that, after the conquest

[1] The battle of Dettingen was fought June 26, 1743. In this battle the French, under Marshal Noailles, were defeated by the British and Hanoverian army, commanded by George II. and the Earl of Stair. This was the last occasion of a king of England taking part in a battle.

[2] See interesting note on this subject in Lingard's 'History of England,' vol. vii. p. 102. 4to. edition.

of Jamaica in 1655, Cromwell, that he might people it, resolved to transport 1000 Irish boys and 1000 Irish girls to the island. At first, the young women only were demanded, with reference to whom it was replied, 'Although we must use force in taking them up, yet it is so much for their own good, and likely to be of so great advantage to the public, it is not in the least doubted that you may have such number of them as you shall think fit.'[1] We afterwards learn that 'the Committee of the Council have also voted 1000 girls, and as many youths, to be taken up for that purpose.'[2]

The Parliament of England next concerted measures for the final settlement and administration of Ireland. Fleetwood was now Lord Deputy, and four other republicans were nominated his colleagues, as Parliamentary Commissioners, to govern the country.[3] The first Act of Settlement was passed on August 12, 1652. Under this Act, the Commissioners established a High Court of Justice, to try all Catholics who had murdered or been accomplices in the murder of any Protestants or English out of battle, since the commencement of the rebellion in 1641, the penalty being forfeiture of life and estate. But no inquiry was to be instituted into the murder of Irishmen or Catholics by Englishmen in the same period. The Court first sat in Kilkenny, and made its circuit through Cork, Waterford, Dublin, and other places. So many of those implicated or alleged to have been implicated in the outrages had fallen victims to war, famine, and pestilence, during the eleven years, and so many had left the kingdom, that altogether only two hundred were convicted, and suffered the penalty of death. Among these were Lord Mayo in Connaught, and Colonel William Bagnel in Munster,[4] 'who were condemned on not the clearest and most exceptionable evidence.'[5] Of these courts, which were called Crom-

[1] Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 23. [2] Ibid. p. 75.

[3] These were Edmund Ludlow, Miles Corbet, John Jones, and John Weaver, appointed in August 1652.

[4] Carte, vol. ii. p. 157. [5] Leland, vol. iii. p. 407.

well's slaughter houses, we are told 'no articles were pleadable in them, and against a charge of things said to be done twelve years before little or no defence could be made; and the cry that was made of blood, aggravated with expressions of so much horror, and the no less daunting aspect of the court quite confounded the amazed prisoners, so that they came like sheep to the slaughter.'[1]

The next act of the Government was the banishment of all Irish and Catholics, that is, seven-eighths of the population, into Connaught and the county of Clare. The object was, that the other three provinces should be left exclusively to Scotch and English settlers of the Protestant faith, being those already in possession, those who had advanced money to carry on the war, and the soldiers of the Parliament, who were to receive grants of land for their arrears of pay.

By the first Act of Settlement, the forfeiture of two-thirds of their estates had been pronounced against those who had borne arms against the Parliament of England or their forces, and one-third of their estates against those, who had resided in Ireland any time from October 1, 1649, to March 1, 1650, and had not been in the actual service of the Parliament during that time, or had not otherwise manifested their constant good affection to the interests of the Commonwealth of England. This applied only to men of property. All those whose real or personal estates did not amount to the value of ten pounds were offered a full and free pardon.

But the thirds, or two-thirds portions not forfeited in such cases were not necessarily to be part of their original estates; for the Parliament had power to give them, in lieu thereof, other lands, 'to the proportion or value thereof (to be assigned in such places in Ireland as the Parliament, in order to the more effectual settlement of the peace of the nation, shall think fit to appoint for this purpose).' Now, by the second Act of Settle-

[1] 'History of Independency.'

ment, it was enacted that all persons claiming under the qualifications of the former should get their proportions of land on the right bank of the Shannon only—that is, in Connaught and the county of Clare.

In conformity with this Act, the Commissioners issued several proclamations, ordering all persons claiming under the qualifications, and moreover all who had served against the Parliament, to 'remove and transplant themselves' into Connaught and Clare, before May 1, 1654, under penalty of death. Numbers went; and lands to the extent of 800,000 English acres, were allotted to those among them whose claims were admitted. Many refused to go, and, flying to the woods, bogs, and strong places, continued to harass and commit depredations on those who had possession of their estates. They were called Rapparees and Tories,[1] and became so troublesome that in some districts a reward of 200*l.* was offered for the head of a leader, and 40*l.* for the head of a private of the band.[2]

As otherwise there would not have been people to till the lands, 'ploughmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the inferior sort,' were excepted from the order to transplant into Connaught. This exception is set forth in the Proclamation of the Commissioners, dated at the Castle of Kilkenny, October 11, 1652, inasmuch as 'it is not the intention of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England to extirpate the whole nation.'

Everywhere throughout the country, martial law was established and rigorously carried out. No Catholic was allowed to reside within any garrison or market town, or to remove more than one mile from his own dwelling, without a passport, describing his person, age, and occupation. Any meeting of four

[1] Rapparee—an Irish plunderer, from his weapon, *rapary*, a half pike. Tory—an Irish robber or Irish banditti: from *tor*, a bush. In England this name was opprobriously given to the Cavaliers; and Whig, from the Saxon *hwæg*, whey or sour milk, was bestowed in rejoinder on the Puritans or Roundheads.

[2] Lingard, vol. vii. p. 105. 'Bruodin' and 'Hibernia Domiuicana.'

or more persons besides the family was pronounced a treasonable assembly. Carrying or possessing arms was punishable by death; and any transplanted Irishman found on the left bank of the Shannon might be shot by the first person who met him.[1]

We may well imagine the consternation of the multitudes, thus driven from their homes and possessions, to go forth to an unknown and barren region. In cold and hunger, several of the aged and infirm and children, who had been accustomed to tender nurture, perished in that dreary pilgrimage. The proclamation of the Commissioners was enforced with unrelenting severity. No exception was allowed. The story of these times was long a terrible tradition among the peasantry. 'The curse of Cromwell on you,' was, even down to our days, the bitterest imprecation an Irishman could hurl against his foe.

The dispossessed proprietors were obliged to execute a formal surrender of their estates, as a condition of their obtaining their lots in the Connaught plantation.

In this deplorable condition (says Clarendon), and under this consternation, they found themselves obliged to submit to the hardest conditions of their conquerors, and so signed such conveyances and releases as were prepared for them, that they might enjoy those lands which belonged to other men. And by this means the plantation of Connaught, as they called it, was finished, and all the Irish nation was enclosed within that circuit; the rest of Ireland being left to the English. Some few estates were left to the old lords and just proprietors, who, being all Protestants (for no Roman Catholics were admitted), had either never offended them, or had served them, or had made composition for their delinquencies by the benefit of some articles.[2]

The following from Smiths 'History of Cork,'[3] is a case in point:—

Anno 1655.—Several of the Irish were transplanted into Connaught: amongst others Lord Kingsale was ordered to retire to that province; but he obtained several certificates of his good and peaceable behaviour

[1] Lingard, vol. vii. p. 106. 'Bruodin' and 'Hibernia Dominicana.'
[2] Clarendon, 'Life,' vol. ii. p. 117.
[3] Vol. ii. p. 176.

during the troubles, from many creditable persons, which he presented, with a petition, to Cromwell, who immediately wrote over to Fleetwood in his behalf, whereupon there was an order of Council, dated the 19th of May following, to prevent his transplantation either to Clare or Connaught, and to allow him to keep peaceable possession of his ancient inheritance in this county.

In the city council books we find:—

Anno 1656.—All the popish inhabitants were turned out of the city of Cork, and Protestant magistrates chosen for its government.

Having thus cleared the three provinces of the Irish, the Government next proceeded to carry out the distribution of the lands comformably with the Act of Subscription.[1] All Ireland was surveyed. The soldiers drew lots for the districts, in which their portions should be assigned them. Each lot was to consist of profitable land; that is, of land then deemed capable of cultivation.[2] However, a good portion of unprofitable land was thrown in gratis. Thus, as many as 605,670 acres was returned to the surveyor's office as unprofitable land, held by the soldiers. This distribution was confined to soldiers who had served since Cromwell's arrival in August 1649.

Great abuses prevailed in settling with the adventurers who had advanced money, under the Act, for carrying on the war. Many had whole baronies assigned them in gross, and they employed their own surveyors to make the admeasurements.[3] Courts were established in Dublin and Athlone to hear and adjudge all claims, which were to be proved good within a limited time, that all proprietors might be free from future litigation.[4] The Commissioners reserved large proportions for themselves, so that in some instances the state was scandalously defrauded.[5]

[1] 17th Caroli.

[2] In some counties of Ireland leases run as follows:—'—— acres of profitable land, plantation measure, be the same more or less.' 1 acre plantation is equal to 1 acre, 2 roods, 19 perches, 5 yards, and 2¼ feet imperial statute measure. 121 plantation acres may be taken as equal to 196 statute.

[3] Carte's 'Life of Ormond,' vol. ii. p. 301. [4] Leland, vol. iii. p. 410.

[5] Ibid.

The penal enactments against the Catholics were now enforced in all their severity. On January 6, 1652, the Commissioners issued a proclamation ordering all Catholic clergymen to quit Ireland within twenty days under the penalties of high treason. To harbour any such clergyman was declared punishable by death. It was subsequently provided that any one knowing of the concealment of a priest and not revealing it to the authorities should suffer the punishment of whipping and the amputation of ears. A proclamation was also issued ordering all nuns to marry or leave Ireland. They were transported in numbers to the Continent, where they were hospitably received in convents of their respective orders. Absence from church service on Sundays was punished by a fine of thirty pence each time. The magistrates were authorized to take away the children of Catholics and send them to England to be educated in the Protestant faith, and to tender the oath of abjuration to all persons of the age of twenty-one. The punishment of refusal, or recusancy, as it was called, was 'imprisonment during pleasure and the forfeiture of two-thirds of their estates, real and personal.'[1]

The priests were persecuted much more severely now than at any former period. Several were discovered and executed, under the English Act 27th of Elizabeth, now extended to Ireland by the proclamation of the Parliamentary Commissioners.[2] Those who escaped detection lay hidden by day in caverns in the mountains or huts in the remote parts of the bogs, and issued forth, under the cover of night, to carry religious aid and consolation to the suffering people. Well, indeed, might a cotemporary writer exclaim, 'Neither the Israelites were more cruelly persecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the Christians by Nero, or any of the other Pagan tyrants, than were the Roman Catholics of Ireland at that fatal juncture by these savage Commissioners!'[3]

[1] Lingard, vol. vii. p. 106. 'Hibernia Dominicana,' p. 707. 'Bruodin,' p. 696. [2] A.D. 1652. [3] Morrison, 'Thren.' p. 14.

CHAPTER LXVI.

THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.—HIS DECLARATION FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND; FULL PARTICULARS THEREOF—THE ACTS OF SETTLEMENT AND EXPLANATION—'THE MAGNA CHARTA OF THE PROTESTANTS OF IRELAND'—THE COURT OF CLAIMS; ONLY 600 CLAIMS HEARD OUT OF 4,000; 3,400 LOYAL CATHOLICS THUS DEPRIVED OF THEIR ESTATES FOR EVER.

On the restoration of Charles II. in May 1660, the hopes of the Irish were again raised. Several of them, even before the king was proclaimed, re-entered on their lands and expelled the intruders,[1] arguing that the regicides, who had held for only the past ten or twelve years, should now restore to the loyal subjects of the Crown their possessions of centuries. Hence there ensued various disorders and riots, which the Cromwellians took care to magnify to England, representing them as the commencement of a fresh Irish rebellion.[2] Every rumour unfavourable to the Irish was but too readily received and circulated in England. 'Agents were sent from Ireland,' says Doctor Leland, 'who reported their conduct with every offensive aggravation.'[3] The result was that, before the landing of the king, the Act of Indemnity for past offences was so prepared as in effect to exclude the whole of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.[4]

Meanwhile the enactments against Catholics continued to be executed with the utmost severity. They were not allowed to travel on their own business, many of them were imprisoned, their letters were intercepted, and they were prohibited from meeting and appointing agents to represent their grievances.[5] Charles was anxious to extend toleration to all, but he was coerced to yield to the bigotry of those by whom he had been

[1] Carte's 'Ormond,' vol. ii. p. 205.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Leland, vol. iii. p. 423.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Carte's 'Ormond,' vol. i. p. 206.

restored to the throne. However, he could not remain altogether deaf to the claims of the Irish, who had manifested such devoted loyalty to him and his father, and had lost their estates by fighting in the royal cause against the forces of the Parliament. In common gratitude he could not forget that when he was a fugitive at the Court of Saint Germains between 25,000 and 30,000 of these loyal men, flying from persecution at home, had placed themselves at his Majesty's disposal, and had, at his command, on his removal to the Low Countries, accompanied him thither. He no less gratefully remembered the peace concluded between the Irish Confederates and Ormond in 1648—a peace the more readily entered into by the former, that its immediate conclusion was of vital importance to the falling fortunes of their King. On both these points Charles availed of the first public occasion to give expression to his feelings.[1] At the same time he acknowledged the great difficulty of the case, inasmuch as the restoration of his faithful Irish subjects to their ancient possessions would necessitate the displacing of his Protestant subjects, 'who had likewise merited so very much from him, and for whose security and advantage he held himself obliged to provide as well as for their indemnity.'[2]

On November 30, 1660, the King published his celebrated Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland. By this it was provided that the adventurers and soldiers, or those deriving from them, should be confirmed in the lands that had been in their possession on May 7, 1659, although it set forth that the titles of the former, 'if examined by the strict letter of the law, would prove very defective and invalid,' and that those of the latter were 'liable to question.'[3] It next provided that the 'forty-nine' officers—that is, those who had served Charles or his royal father in the army in Ireland before

[1] Secs. II., III., IV. of his Majesty's Declaration of Settlement, November 30, 1660. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. ii. p. 246.

[2] Ibid. sec. IV.

[3] Ibid. sec. VI. VII.

June 5, 1649—should receive their arrears of pay in grants of certain forfeited lands specified, at the rate of 12*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, and a further dividend out of any balance of said lands that might be available.[1] It then provided that Protestants, who had been dispossessed for the satisfaction of adventurers and soldiers, should be restored to their former estates, and that a reprizal of equal value should be forthwith assigned to such adventurers or soldiers as should be removed for this purpose. 'Innocent Papists,' that is 'Irish proprietors of the Popish religion dispossessed of their estates merely for being Papists,' who should prove that they had been faithful and loyal to, and had never acted against, the King or his father since October 22, 1641, and who were possessed of lands in Connaught and Clare in lieu of their former estates, were to be restored to those estates, they giving up to the King, for purposes of reprizal, their lands in Connaught and Clare.[2] But the Confederates, who had embraced and adhered to the peace of 1648, and who had received lands in Connaught and Clare, and had remained at home without taking any active part in the King's restoration, were not to be so restored, but were to be bound by their own act and confined to the lands they had accepted on their transplantation.[3]

It was provided that, where 'innocent Papists' had been dispossessed of estates in corporate towns, they should not be restored to the same, but should get lands in the neighbourhood, as it would in many respects be prejudicial to disturb or remove the English who were planted there, and had brought trade and manufactures to the said corporate towns.[4]

Adventurers and soldiers, removed for restored Papists and others, were to be forthwith reprized out of forfeited lands, or lands surrendered to the King in Connaught and Clare.[5]

[1] Declaration of Settlement, secs. IX. X. [2] Ibid. sec. XVI.

[3] Ibid. sec. XXII. This was very hard on the Confederates, inasmuch as their transplantation was not their own act, but altogether compulsory.

[4] Ibid. sec. XVIII. [5] Ibid. sec. XVII.

Ensignsmen—that is, those who had served under the King's ensign beyond the seas—were also to be restored, and the holders of their estates reprized.[1]

Large grants were made or confirmed to Monk, Duke of Albemarle, Lords Ormond, Inchiquin, and others.

Provision was also made for the restoration or reprizal of several noblemen and gentlemen specially named in the royal declaration.

After the other reprizals, such lands as should remain at the royal disposal were to be set forth in satisfaction of debts for furnishing arms, ammunition, and other necessaries for carrying on the war in Ireland before the year 1649.[2]

Finally, it was declared that the English settled in Ireland should not be dispossessed until their reprizal was first provided for. This was to be done out of a large proportion of forfeited lands reserved for the purpose. To prevent doubt and controversy for precedency in restitution, it was declared that the first to be restored should be innocent Protestants or Papists who had never taken out decrees nor had lands assigned to them in Connaught or Clare; next, those who had such allotted and were dispossessed; next, Irish Papists who had constantly served under the royal ensigns abroad.[3]

The rents reserved to the King on estates so settled, restored, or reprized, were threepence per acre in Leinster, twopence farthing per acre in Munster, three halfpence per acre in Connaught, and one penny per acre in Ulster, the adventurers to hold in free and common socage, and the soldiers by knight's service in capite.[4]

The King added that it was his intention forthwith to call a

[1] Ibid. sec. XXIV. [2] Ibid. sec. XXIX. [3] Ibid. sec. XXVIII.

[4] 17th Caroli, c. 1. Socage (from Saxon *soc*, a privilege). In English law a tenure of lands and tenements by a certain or determinate service; a tenure distinct from chivalry or knight's service, in which the render was uncertain. The service must be certain in order to be denominated *socage*, as to hold by fealty and twenty shillings rent. Socage is of two kinds, *free socage*, where the services are not only certain but honourable, and *villein* or

Parliament in Ireland 'to establish by laws all the particulars mentioned' in his Declaration, and such others as should be found necessary for the good of the people; and that, such bills being passed, a free and general pardon should be granted to all his subjects of and in Ireland, notorious murderers only excepted.[1] The late king's judges and all who took part in his execution were specially excluded from all benefit of the Declaration, as were also those who planned the surprisal of the Castle of Dublin in the year 1641.

The Declaration of Settlement was sent over to Ireland, with full instructions for its execution, which was entrusted to thirty-four commissioners, of whom five were to form a quorum.[2] The sympathy and the interests of these commissioners were notoriously on the side of the soldiers and adventurers, to whom also the instructions were most favourable. These circumstances caused general dissatisfaction among those whom the King had promised to restore to their estates. Moreover, the 'forty-nine' officers, who had so devotedly served Charles and his father, complained that they were now to receive consideration for only little more than one-half of their arrears, and that the lands set apart for the purpose were very far short of what was required even for this proportion. The 'innocent Papists,' that is, the great bulk of the dispossessed proprietors whom the King had promised to restore, were dismayed to find that their restoration could not, in any case, take place until the unjust possessors of their estates should be first reprized, the lands available for reprizals being quite insufficient. But their dismay was still greater when they found that the qualifications

common *socage*, where the services, though certain, are of a baser nature.—Blackstone.

In capite (from Latin *caput*, the head). In English law a tenant in capite or in chief is one who holds lands immediately from the king, *caput* the head, or lord paramount of all lands in the kingdom, by knight's service or by socage. This tenure is called *tenure in capite*; but it was abolished by 12th Charles II. chap. 24.—Blackstone.

[1] Ibid. sec. XXXI. [2] 'Irish Statutes,' vol. ii. p. 264.

of innocency were such as to exclude almost every Catholic from that plea. It was not enough to be quite free from the charge of having taken up arms or having aided in the late rebellion, for if any of them had dwelt, however innocently or peaceably, in the country occupied by the rebels (save any inhabitant of the city of Cork or the town of Youghal who were not permitted to continue living in the English quarters), they were debarred from the plea of innocency by that fact alone.[1] Those who had entered into the Roman Catholic Confederacy at any time before the peace of 1648, or had adhered to the nuncio, or clergy's party, or papal power, in opposition to the King's authority, or had been excommunicated for adhering to the King's authority and afterwards owned their offences for so doing and were absolved; those, again, who derived their estates from such as were guilty of these crimes, those who had corresponded with the Confederates or had acted with them, or had been parties to treating with foreign powers to bring forces into Ireland before the peace of 1648, or had been Tories or woodkerns, were all likewise excluded.[2]

The whole question now came before the Irish Parliament, convened in 1661. As the soldiers and adventurers were in actual possession of the lands, the Commons were nearly altogether composed of their representatives.[3] No Catholics were returned. The first act of the Commons was to pray the Lords Justices that the term should be adjourned, and the courts of law for some time closed, to prevent the reversal of outlawries and the ejectment of the soldiers and adventurers before their present titles should be adjusted by Act of Parliament. This unconstitutional proceeding was at first objected to by the Lords, but it ultimately passed both Houses, and was carried into effect by the Lords Justices. The Commons next voted

[1] Carte, vol. ii. p. 216.

[2] 14 and 15 Charles II. c. 2. Instructions, sec. XI. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. ii. pp. 269–270.

[3] Carte's 'Ormond,' vol. ii. p. 222.

that the Declaration should become law; but this was opposed by the Lords, who considered its effect would be to reduce to penury all the old families of the kingdom, Protestant and Catholic, universally replacing them by the Cromwellians.

The matter thus standing was referred to the King and Council in London. The Irish, being without friends and influence, were at great disadvantage in the English capital; while, on the other hand, the Cromwellians, having many friends and sympathizers there, were able to take effectual measures to preserve their recently acquired properties in Ireland. They subscribed 20,000*l.*, with which they sent Sir James Sheen over, to bribe all those who could influence the King and Council in their behalf, and they continued to circulate reports of meditated plots and rebellions on the part of the Irish, who were claimants for their estates. They were but too successful. After long discussion the bill was drawn up very much in accordance with their views, and transmitted to Ireland, and passed both Irish Houses. This is the Act of Settlement, the 14th and 15th Charles II. chapter 2, A.D. 1662. It embodies *in extenso* the King's declaration and instructions. Under this Act and the Act of Explanation, passed three years later, is held nearly all the landed property of the country. These two Acts have been called the 'Magna Charta of the Protestants of Ireland.'

The execution of the Act of Settlement was now proceeded with by the Commissioners, who sat in Dublin to hear claims and receive proofs of innocency.[1] In the first three months 168 claims were admitted, and nineteen rejected. The Cromwellians, overlooking the fact that those who had the clearest cases were the first to come forward, became greatly alarmed; they organized a powerful party in Parliament in opposition to the Court of Claims, and succeeded in having the following dangerous resolution passed by the House of Commons:—'That

[1] The Court of Claims sat for six months, viz. from February 15 to August 15, 1663.

they would apply their utmost remedies to prevent and stop the great and manifold prejudices and inconveniences which daily did and were likely to happen to the Protestants of Ireland, by the proceedings of the Commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement.'[1] Not content with this, they next proceeded to secretly prepare an armed resistance, and actually plotted the seizure of Dublin Castle and the person of the Viceroy. But the conspiracy was discovered and defeated;[2] the greater part of the conspirators were pardoned: some, however, suffered the penalty of death.

Ormond, who was then Lord-Lieutenant, went over to London to accommodate matters, and, after a long and perplexing controversy between the several parties and their friends and agents, a final settlement was at length arrived at. The fund for reprizals being very short, it was proposed that the soldiers and adventurers should give up one-third of their acquisitions, to be added to that fund, which they consented to do, being apprehensive of the result of a scrutiny into their titles, as many of them had got possession of much more land than their just and legal portion. This and other points being arranged, the Act of Explanation 'explaining some doubts arising upon the Act of Settlement,' and altering and adding to the provisions thereof, was prepared and transmitted to Ireland, and passed both Irish Houses.[3] This Act, which was called by the Irish 'the Black Act,' sets forth—'that the persons, estates, and interests of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, of whom his Majesty ever had and still hath greatest care and consideration in the settlement of this his kingdom, shall be first provided for;'[4] and further, 'that all and every the clauses in this or the said former Act contained, so far as the same remain in force, shall be construed, expounded, and taken in all courts and places whatsoever, most liberally and beneficially for the pro-

[1] February 28, 1663.
[2] May 25, 1663.
[3] The 17th and 18th Charles II. chap. 2. A.D. 1665.
[4] Sec. V. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 7.

tecting, settling and establishing the persons, estates and interests of Protestants, who are principally intended by these presents to be settled and secured.'[1] From this it is easy to understand how the old Irish proprietors came so badly off in the final settlement of the property of the country.

Notwithstanding the addition made to the fund for reprizals, it fell very far short of what was required.[2] The king was enabled to indemnify the Protestant officers who had served in the royal army previous to 1649, and had not received the arrears of their pay. He was also enabled to add twenty Catholics to a former list of thirty-four nominees, to be restored to their mansion-houses and 2,000 acres of land contiguous. But there remained without any provision the officers who had followed the royal fortunes on the Continent, and about 3,400 Irish Catholic proprietors who had entered their claims of innocency, but whose petitions had not even been investigated.

With regard to these, the case stood thus. The Court of Claims, which was limited to twelve months, sat only for six, viz. from February 15 to August 15, 1663, when its commission ended. Of four thousand claims entered in that court, only six hundred had been heard; and these were nearly all decided in favour of the claimants. Three thousand four hundred remained unheard.[3] 'These,' says Carte, 'were left to be ruined, merely for want of that common justice of being heard, which is by all nations allowed to the worst malefactors.'[4] Thus to all these the promises of the Act of Settlement were broken; they were deprived of their rights, and, as the Act was final, all hope of relief was at an end for ever.[5] 'A measure of such

[1] Sec. LXIII. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 43.

[2] This fund, in any case very short, was still further diminished by the large grants to the king's brother the Duke of York, Monk Duke of Albemarle, Lords Ormond, Orrery, and others.

[3] Carte's 'Ormond,' vol. ii. p. 297. [4] Ibid. p. 298.

[5] It was provided by the Act of Explanation that no Papist who had not been adjudged innocent under the former Act, should at any future time be reputed innocent or entitled to claim any lands or settlements,

sweeping and appalling oppression,' says Dr. Lingard, 'is perhaps without a parallel in the history of civilized nations. Its injustice could not be denied, and the only apology offered in its behalf was the stern necessity of quieting the fears and jealousies of the Cromwellian settlers, and of establishing on a permanent basis the Protestant ascendency in Ireland.'[1] Thus, in the words of Dean Swift, 'The Catholics of Ireland, in the great rebellion, lost their estates for fighting in defence of their king; the schismatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the son to fly for his life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil, obtained grants of those very estates which the Catholics lost in defence of the ancient constitution, many of which estates are at this day possessed by the posterity of those schismatics; and thus they gained by their rebellion what the Catholics lost by their loyalty.'[2]

CHAPTER LXVII.

SUMMARY OF THE GENERAL RESULT OF THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT IN STATUTE ACRES—SUMMARY OF THE DIVISION OF THE WHOLE PROPERTY OF THE COUNTRY AFTER THE EXECUTION OF THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT; TOTAL AREA IN THE HANDS OF ENGLISH PROTESTANTS; TOTAL AREA IN THE HANDS OF THE IRISH—ACCESSION OF JAMES II.; TOLERATION EXTENDED TO THE CATHOLICS; JEALOUSY OF THE CROMWELLIANS; THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 THEREBY PRECIPITATED—TREATY OF LIMERICK; ITS VIOLATION—FORFEITURES UNDER WILLIAM III.—FINAL DIVISION OF THE WHOLE PROPERTY OF THE COUNTRY.

THE following summary gives the general result of the Act of Settlement. The total area of profitable lands forfeited in Ireland, under the Commonwealth, amounted to 7,708,238 statute

[1] 'History of England,' vol. vii. p. 400.

[2] Swift's Works, vol. viii. p. 439. Edin. 1824. At this time many of the sufferers, seeing all hopes of recovering their estates at an end, emigrated to France and Spain, and entered the military service of those countries.

acres. In 1675, the forfeited lands had been disposed of as follows:—

GRANTED TO THE ENGLISH.

	Statute acres	Statute acres
Adventurers	787,326	
Soldiers	2,385,915	
'Forty-nine' officers	450,380	
His Royal Highness the Duke of York	169,431	
Provisors	477,873	
Duke of Ormond and Colonel Butler	257,516	
Bishops' Augmentations	31,596	
		4,560,037

GRANTED OR DISPOSED OF TO THE IRISH.

Decrees of Innocence	1,176,520	
Provisors	491,001	
King's Letters of Restitution	46,398	
Nominees in possession	68,360	
Transplantation	541,530	
		2,323,809
Remaining still unappropriated, being part of towns, or possessed by English or Irish without title, or doubtful		824,392
Total forfeited under the Commonwealth		7,708,238

The 'forty-nine' officers, as already explained, were those who claimed arrears for service under the king before 1649. The Duke of York received a grant of all the lands held by the regicides who had been attainted. Provisors were persons in whose favour provisoes had been made in the Acts. Nominees were the Catholics named by the king to be restored to their mansion-houses, and 2,000 acres contiguous. Those restored by the king's letters were called Letterees. 'Transplantation' refers to the Catholics whom Cromwell forced from their own lands to settle in Connaught.

At this time, the profitable lands of Ireland were estimated at about 12,500,000 statute acres.[1] About 7,000,000 more remained. These were deemed unprofitable; but, even so, large tracts of these lands were taken by the soldiers and adventurers, in addition to the lots of profitable land they severally received

[1] Being two-thirds of the whole, which were estimated at 19,000,000. —Petty.

in the distribution. The whole property of the country now stood as follows:—

	Statute acres.
Granted to English Protestants, of profitable land, forfeited under the Commonwealth	4,560,037
Previously possessed by English Colonists of the Protestant faith and the Church, profitable land	3,900,000 [1]
Granted or disposed of to the Irish, of profitable land	2,323,809
Previously possessed by 'good affection' men of the Irish	600,000
Remaining still unappropriated, being part of towns, or possessed by English or Irish without titles, or doubtful, of profitable land	824,391
	12,208,237 [2]

James II. succeeded his brother on February 6, 1685. Himself a Catholic, James resolved to extend toleration and justice, as far as possible, to his Catholic subjects in Ireland. To his Lord Lieutenant, Clarendon, he fully explained his views—that doubtless Ireland was a conquered country, and that English ascendency and the Act of Settlement must be maintained; but, at the same time, measures should be devised of rewarding several of the Irish who had rendered important services to the crown, and had nevertheless been deprived of their possessions; that the Catholics of Ireland should enjoy the free exercise of their religion; that all disqualifications for religious opinions should cease; and that Catholics should be placed on a perfect equality with Protestants, in admission to offices of state and the freedom of corporations; finally, that many persons of dangerous principles who were in the army should be removed from it, and for that purpose he, the King,

[1] Account published by the Cromwellian proprietors.

[2] I have very carefully drawn up this statement, chiefly from the Grace manuscript, quoted by Doctor Lingard, and the Report of the Commissioners to the English House of Commons, on December 15, 1699. I find it, to a great extent, confirmed by the estimate of Sir William Petty. ('Political Anatomy of Ireland,' p. 302). He says: 'Of the whole 7,500,000 plantation acres of good land, the English and Protestants and Church have this Christmas (1672), 5,140,000,' equal to 8,352,500 statute acres, 'and the Irish have near half as much.'

should reserve to himself the power of granting military commissions.[1]

Clarendon, on taking possession of his government,[2] proceeded to carry the royal wishes into effect. Three Catholic lawyers were raised to the bench; several Catholics were named of the Privy Council; Catholics were appointed to the offices of sheriffs and magistrates; and, out of the funds of vacant sees, a sum of 2,190*l.* a year was set apart for distribution among the twelve Catholic bishops.[3]

The Earl of Tyrconnel, who commanded the army, exercised a power, wholly independent of the Lord Lieutenant, in displacing Protestant officers and replacing them with Catholics; and, afterwards, when he succeeded Clarendon in the Viceroyalty, he proceeded to carry out his designs in a manner that filled the Protestants of Ireland with consternation. Among other measures, he contemplated no less than the restoring the Irish, by Parliamentary enactment, to those estates of which they had been dispossessed by the Commonwealth. To this, however, James would not consent, when it was represented to him that the probable result would be the entire separation of Ireland from the British Crown. A great number of Protestant families left the country. Some removed to England, others to Holland. Among these latter were several Protestant officers, who had been deprived of their commissions, and who made their complaints to James's nephew, the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III. of England. This circumstance, and the general dissatisfaction and alarm of the Protestant party in Ireland, tended to precipitate the Revolution.

The Irish, as is familiar to all readers of history, fought with characteristic loyalty and valour in the King's cause; but James's hopes were extinguished for ever at the battle of the Boyne. Although abandoned by the King, the Irish continued

[1] Clarendon, 'Correspondence,' vol. i. pp. 339, 461; vol. ii. p. 25.
[2] January 9, 1686.
[3] Clarendon, 'Correspondence,' vol. i. p. 576, vol. ii. p. 47.

the struggle to the end of the following year, when it was closed by the celebrated treaty of Limerick.

The capitulation of the city, and the conclusion of the treaty of Limerick took place on the October 3, 1691. The treaty consisted of two parts—one, military, containing twenty-nine articles; and one, civil, containing thirteen.

Under the military portion of the treaty, about 10,000 Irish soldiers, accompanied by their officers, embarked for France, and entered the service of Louis XIV.[1]

Although, by the civil articles of the treaty of Limerick, William was bound to confirm the Irish in their possessions,[2] and to grant a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, and other crimes, committed since the beginning of the reign of King James II., and, if any of them were attainted by Parliament, to use his 'best endeavours to get the same repealed by Parliament, and the outlawries reversed;'[3] and, although the King appears to have been well disposed at first to keep faith in the matter, he did not attempt to control the action of the Parliament of England therein; and accordingly the treaty was shamefully violated in these particulars.

We have seen that, by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, 2,323,809 statute acres of profitable lands were granted or disposed of to the Irish, they having 600,000 previously in their possession. Of these lands, 1,060,792 plantation acres, equal to 1,723,787 statute acres, were escheated under William.[4] These escheated lands were then worth 211,623*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* per annum, as estimated by the Commissioners, in their report laid before the English House of Commons.[5] Of the forfeited lands the most considerable grants were made to the foreign adherents of the king, De Ginckle, Keppel, Bentinck, Rouvigny and others,

[1] See Irish Brigade, Chap. lxv.

[2] Treaty of Limerick, article II. [3] Ibid. article V.

[4] Commissioners' Report to English House of Commons, of December 15, 1699, pars. 14, 51.

[5] Commissioners' Report, &c., par. 14.

some of whom, moreover, got English or Irish peerages in reward of their services.

This forfeiture reduced the property of the Catholic Irish to 1,240,022 acres of profitable land; William restored to persons whom he pardoned, by special favour, 125,000;[1] and the Court of Claims restored to Catholic proprietors 388,500,[2] making the total possessed by the Irish Catholics only 1,753,522 statute acres. So much for the promise to confirm the Irish in their possessions!

Then as regards the outlawries: the number of Irish outlawed by William, 'on account of the late rebellion,' since February 13, 1688, were 3,921, whereas there were only 57 persons outlawed by him in England.[3] Their outlawry, notwithstanding the royal promise in the Treaty of Limerick, remained unreversed, and they lost their estates for ever!

This was the last of the confiscations, the final settlement, if we may so call it, of the property of Ireland. Of the 12,500,000 statute acres of profitable land in the island, little more than 1,750,000 now remained in the hands of Irish Catholics; considerably over 10,000,000 belonged to the English and Protestants.[4]

[1] Ibid. par. 24. Sixty-five persons restored by the king's favour.

[2] Ibid. pars. 17, 18. Seven hundred and ninety-two persons restored by the Court of Claims, appointed under a Royal Commission dated February 25, 1697.

[3] Ibid. par. 12.

[4] The Irish Commons, in their address to Queen Anne in 1709 declare that the title of more than half the estates then belonging to Protestants in Ireland depended on the forfeitures of the last two rebellions, 1641 and 1688. 'Commons Journals,' vol iii. p. 643. These, we have seen, were 4,560,037 acres granted by the Commonwealth, and 1,210,287 granted by William, making a total of 5,770,324 acres of profitable land. The Protestants were previously in possession of over 4,000,000 acres, making the total aggregate of their estates over 10,000,000 acres of profitable land, to which must be added a very large proportion of the unprofitable land of the country, which they had added to their acquisitions, and held without grant, authority or title.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

THE PENAL LAWS; THOSE LEVELLED AGAINST THE RELIGION OF THE CATHOLICS; AGAINST THEIR PROPERTY; AGAINST THEIR FAMILY PEACE; AGAINST THEIR POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS AS SUBJECTS—WHY CALLED LAWS OF DISCOVERY—MOST DEMORALIZING IN THEIR EFFECTS; MOST ABLY PLANNED TO EFFECT THEIR END—ILLUSTRATIONS THEREOF—ARTHUR O'LEARY THE OUTLAW; FOLLOWED BY THE PENAL LAWS AFTER DEATH—CASE OF DOCTOR RICHARD WALSH, CATHOLIC BISHOP OF CORK, AND DOCTOR JEMMET BROWN, PROTESTANT LORD BISHOP.

THE first article of the civil portion of the Treaty of Limerick ran as follow:—'The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II.; and their Majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their said religion.' How flagrantly this article was violated we shall now see in briefly reviewing the penal laws. Perhaps history does not furnish a more aggravated or more disgraceful instance of injustice and perfidy.

We have already seen what were the penal enactments of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth against the national creed of Ireland. The penal laws, properly so called, commenced with William III., who was bound by solemn treaty to extend toleration to his Irish Catholic subjects!

By the 9th William III. chapter 1, it was enacted that all Popish archbishops, bishops, vicars general, deans, jesuits, monks, friars, and all regular[1] Popish clergy, and all Papists exercising

[1] The *regular* clergy (so called from the Latin *regula*, a rule) are the members of religious orders. The parochial clergy are called *secular* (from Latin

any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, should leave Ireland before May 1, 1698. If found in the kingdom after that day, they were to be imprisoned until transported, and if they returned from transportation they were to suffer the penalty of treason—i. e. to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.[1]

By the same act all Popish archbishops, bishops, deans, &c., entering the kingdom were liable to twelve months' imprisonment and transportation; and if they returned from transportation, to the penalty of treason, as above.[2]

These, be it remembered, were the beloved ministers, spiritual instructors, and consolers of the persecuted people—of the vast majority of the nation!

By the same Act, those who knowingly should harbour, relieve, conceal, or entertain any such Popish archbishops, bishops, vicars general, deans, &c., were liable, for the first offence, to a penalty of 20*l.*; for the second offence, 40*l.*; and for the third, forfeiture of lands and goods for life. One half the penalty to go to the informer, as far as said moiety should not exceed 100*l.*; the surplus to go to the king.[3]

By the 8th of Anne, chapter 3, section 26,[4] it was enacted that if a Popish priest were arraigned for marrying two persons, knowing at the time that they were, or either of them was of the Protestant religion, which would involve the penalty of imprisonment and transportation, it should be '*presumed, allowed, and concluded to all intents and purposes,' that the said Popish priest knew at the time that they, or one of them, were of the Protestant religion,* unless he could produce a certificate from the minister of the parish that they were not so!

By a subsequent Act,[5] such marriage was declared void, as

seculum, the world). In missionary countries, as, owing to persecution, Ireland then was, the parochial duties often devolve on regulars, there being either not sufficient or no seculars to discharge them.

[1] A.D. 1697. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 339. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

[4] A.D. 1709. Re-enacting 6 Anne, 16. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iv. p. 206.

[5] 19 George II. c. 13, A.D. 1745, and 33 George III. c. 21, sec. 12. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. vi. p. 765, vol. xvi. p. 690.

instanced in the celebrated Yelverton case, in which one of the penal laws against the Irish Catholics inflicted a grievous wrong on a sadly outraged English lady, who would have been legally married if the ceremony had been performed by a Catholic priest, in her own country.

Catholics, or as they were termed in the several statutes, 'Papists,' were forbidden to teach school, either publicly or in private houses, except to the children of the family, under a penalty of 20*l.* fine, and three months' imprisonment.[1]

Catholics were also prohibited sending their children to foreign countries to be educated, under the penalty of disability to sue in law or equity, or to be guardian, executor, or administrator, or to take a legacy or deed of gift, or to bear office, and forfeit of goods, and also lands, for life.[2]

This, indeed, is a heavy list of pains and penalties to be incurred by those who should endeavour to procure for their children abroad that education denied them at home!

By the 7th of William III., chapter 5,[3] all Papists were disarmed. Any Papist refusing to declare on oath, before two magistrates, what arms he had, was liable for the first offence, if a Peer, to 100*l.* penalty; if of less degree, 30*l.*; half the penalty to go to the king, and the other half to the person or persons who should sue for the same. For a second offence, liable to the penalty of premunire.[4]

Catholics were debarred from holding commissions in the army or navy, or any office under the Crown, even that of petty constable, and from practising as attorneys or solicitors, or being

[1] 7th William III. c. 4. sec. 9, A.D. 1695. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 259.

[2] Ibid. sec. 1. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 254.

[3] A.D. 1695. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 262.

[4] Premunire (from the Latin *præmonere*, to pre-admonish). In law, the offence of introducing foreign authority, such, for instance, as that of the Pope, into the kingdom, and the writ which is grounded on the offence. The words used in the writ are '*Præmunire facias*;' cause A. B. to be forewarned to appear before us to answer, &c. Punishment, as of treason.

gamekeepers. They were excluded from Parliament and all corporations.[1] They were also debarred from voting at elections of members of Parliament.[2]

It was also enacted that no Papist, at any time on or after January 20, 1695, should have or keep in his possession any horse, gelding, or mare, of the value of *5l.* or more; and that any person, being of the Protestant faith, who should, on oath before two justices of the peace or the mayor of a town, make discovery of any such horse being in the possession of such Papist, should be entitled to possess the said horse on payment of *5l. 5s.* for the same. Any person concealing, or assisting in concealing, such horse belonging to any Papist, or suspected Papist, was liable, on conviction, to three months' imprisonment in the common gaol, and a penalty of three times the value of the horse, said value to be decided by the justices.[3]

If the eldest son of a Catholic became Protestant, the law made the father only tenant for life of his own estate, with reversion in fee to the said son.[4]

A wife of a Catholic, becoming Protestant, could sue her husband for separate maintenance, and become guardian of the children.

[1] Sundry Statutes.

[2] 2nd Anne, c. 6, A.D. 1703. 'Irish Statutes,' vol iv. p. 14.

[3] 7th William III. c. 5. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 266.

[4] 2nd Anne, c. 6. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iv. p. 14. The pernicious effects of this statute are thus set forth, in a petition from the Irish Catholics to King George III., in 1775:—

'By the laws now in force in this kingdom, a son, however undutiful or profligate, shall not merely by the merit of conforming to the established religion deprive the Roman Catholic father of that free and full possession of his estate, that power to mortgage, or otherwise dispose of it, as the exigencies of his affairs may require; but shall himself have full liberty immediately to mortgage or otherwise alienate the reversion of that estate from his family for ever;—a regulation by which a father, contrary to the order of nature, is put under the power of his son, and through which an early dissoluteness is not only suffered but encouraged, by giving a pernicious privilege, the frequent use of which has broken the hearts of many deserving parents, and entailed poverty and despair on some of the most ancient and opulent families in this kingdom.'

No Catholic could be guardian, even to his own child; the Court of Chancery disposing of the guardianship to some near Protestant relation.[1]

The property of Catholics was to descend to all sons, share and share alike, and not to the eldest, 'being a Papist;' if no sons, to the daughters in the same manner, and so on to other relations.[2]

No Catholic could enter on any lands, coming to him by inheritance, unless, within six months of his so inheriting, he became a Protestant. If he did not so conform, the next heir, being a Protestant, might enter and enjoy them, 'as if such Papist were dead.'[3]

Catholics were disabled to purchase lands, except for a term not exceeding thirty-one years, whereon the rent was not less than two-thirds of the improved annual value, reserved at the time.[4]

All securities by mortgage, judgment, or otherwise, to cover a lease or conveyance to a Catholic, contrary to the above enactment, were declared void, as to such Catholic or any purchaser in trust for him, and the lands and such securities might be sued for by any Protestant, in law or equity, who, on proof, should obtain verdict, and be put in possession of the lands and securities.[5]

So that, if a Catholic purchased an estate for a term of more than thirty-one years, or subject to a rent, to be by him paid, of less than two-thirds of the improved annual value at the time of sale, any discoverer (that is, common informer,) being a Protestant, might claim the said estate and all collateral securities connected therewith, and should, on proof, be put in possession thereof, by a decree of the judges of any of her Majesty's courts of law!

[1] 2nd Anne, c. 6. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iv. p. 15.
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.
[4] 2nd Anne, c. 6, A.D. 1703. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iv. p. 17.
[5] 8th Anne, c. 3, A.D. 1709. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iv. p. 207.

A Protestant woman with any estate or interest in lands, or 500*l.* personal estate or more, marrying a Catholic, he was declared incapable of holding such estate or interest, which should thereupon go to the next of kin who was a Protestant; and the said Protestant next of kin might sue for and recover the same, as if legally entitled to same, as heir to such woman so marrying, who, to that purpose, should be deemed dead in law.[1]

Such woman and her husband were declared incapable of being heir, executor, administrator, or guardian to any Protestant.[2] So, where a Protestant woman married a Catholic, she was deprived of the right of guardianship to her own son, being a Protestant, and that son was offered a strong inducement at any time to sue his parents for the estate, dispossess them, and enter on the enjoyment of it himself!

Any Protestant marrying a Popish wife was deemed a Papist or popish recreant, and was declared for ever afterwards disabled and incapable of being heir, executor, administrator or guardian to any person or persons whatever, and also disabled to sit in Parliament, or bear office or employment.[3]

The penal laws were commonly called Laws of Discovery; for, as we have just seen, they were based on a principle which encouraged the wife or child to discover against the husband or parent, the layman against his clergyman, the friend against his friend, the servant against his master; the reward of the discoverer being that he received a large portion of the fine inflicted, or the whole of the property confiscated. What system could have been devised more debasing or demoralizing, at the same time that it was most ably planned to meet the odious ends intended! 'You abhorred the Penal Code, as I did, for its vicious perfection,' says our greatest political philosopher; 'for I must do it justice: it was a complete system, full of coherence and

[1] 9th William III. c. 3, A.D. 1697. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 349.
[2] Ibid.
[3] 9th William III., c. 3. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 349.

consistency; well digested and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man.'[1]

A melancholy illustration of the working of the penal laws is afforded by the fate of Arthur O'Leary, 'the outlaw,' whose tomb may be seen in the venerable abbey of Kilcrea, in the county of Cork, about twelve miles west of the city. The inscription is as follows:—

> Lo! Arthur Leary, generous, handsome, brave,
> Slain in his bloom, fills this untimely grave.
> Died May 4th, 1773, aged 26 years.

Mr. O'Leary was a gentleman of considerable personal property, but, being a Catholic, he could hold no real estate. He had been an officer in the Hungarian army, and was married to a daughter of Daniel O'Connel of Derrynane Abbey, grandfather of the 'Liberator.' We are told by the local historian that, 'on his becoming resident in Ireland, his influence over the peasantry of his old patrimonial district excited the jealousy of Mr. M——, one of its landed proprietors—a jealousy increased in consequence of one of his horses having won a race against a horse of Mr. M——'s.' This led to a quarrel. Mr. M—— availed himself of the oppressive laws then existing against the Catholics, and attempted a legalized robbery, by publicly claiming from O'Leary, after the race, the horse which had won it—tendering to him the price, 5*l.* 5*s.*, awarded for a Papist's horse.[2] O'Leary refused compliance, saying, 'he would surrender him only with his life.' A scuffle ensued, and O'Leary was glad to escape by flight. He proceeded to Cork. Meanwhile, by an extraordinary process, he was proclaimed by two magistrates an

[1] Letter of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke to Sir Hercules Langrishe. 'Works of Edmund Burke,' vol. vi. p. 375.

[2] 7th William III. c. 5. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 266.

outlaw, on the spot; and, on his return home in the evening, he was shot dead at Carriganimy, by soldiers who were placed in ambuscade to intercept him. The penal laws followed him in death. Interments within monastic grounds were then prohibited, and O'Leary was buried in a field outside the abbey, where the body lay several years before it was removed into the church. M—— was tried in Cork for O'Leary's death, and acquitted. The relatives of the deceased, animated now by the wild justice of revenge, watched their opportunity, and on July 7, 1773, as we read in the 'Cork Remembrancer,' 'three shots were fired at A—— M——, Esq., at his lodgings in Mr. Boyce's house, Hammond's Marsh. The balls entered a little below the window, but did no mischief.' This is not correct, as it appears one of the balls took effect, inflicting a wound on M——'s side, so that he never left the house alive. The shots were fired by O'Leary's brother, who immediately escaped to America.[1]

By the 9th William III. chapter 1, sec. 6, enacted in 1697, a penalty of 10*l.* was imposed upon every person who should bury, or be present at the burying of, any dead in any suppressed monastery, abbey, or convent that was not made use of for celebrating divine service according to the liturgy of the Established Church of Ireland, or within the precincts thereof.[2]

The irritating effect of such a law as this may well be conceived by those who are familiar with the affectionate veneration in which the Irish hold the graves of their ancestors, and the importance they attach to their last resting-place being the sacred ground in which countless generations of their kindred have been interred.

It was about fifteen years before this sad event that, one day, as Dr. Richard Walsh, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork,[3] was riding through the North Gate of that city, he was offered 5*l.* for his horse by a butcher named Nunn, professing the

[1] Windele's 'Cork,' p. 255. [2] 'Irish Statutes,' vol. iii. p. 342.

[3] Doctor Richard Walsh, consecrated Bishop of Cork 1747, died 1763, aged 75.

Protestant faith. The bishop could ill spare the horse, which was a most valuable animal to him, as he used to ride it on the visitation of his diocese, which extended as far as the wild and remote district of Bantry, sixty miles off. A happy thought, however, occurred to him on the moment. The Protestant see of Cork was then filled by Dr. Jemmet Brown, an excellent man, who strongly disapproved of the oppression of the Catholics, and secretly afforded protection, on many occasions, to their persecuted priests.[1] Doctor Walsh rode off at once to the episcopal residence, Riverstown House, Glanmire,[2] and told his story to the Lord Bishop. His lordship received him most kindly, and at once reassured him, saying, 'Doctor Walsh, you can't do without a horse, so we will settle the matter thus: you make me a present of the horse; I lend him to you; you may use him as long as you please; and if Nunn or any one else offer to buy him for 5*l.*, refer the parties to me, and take no more trouble about it.'

CHAPTER LXIX.

RELAXATION OF THE PENAL LAWS; FIRST 'CONCESSION' IN 1771 GLADLY ACCEPTED; SUBSEQUENT CONCESSIONS, DICTATED BY EXPEDIENCY.

THE relaxation of the penal laws commenced about eighty years after their first enactment.

By an Act passed in the year 1771, 'every Papist, or person professing the Popish religion, desirous to employ his industry and money for the improvement of the kingdom by the

[1] Doctor Jemmet Brown, consecrated Lord Bishop of Cork 1745, was translated to Elphin in 1772. His memory was long held in affectionate regard by the Catholics of Cork.

[2] Described in 1749 as the 'pleasant seat of the Lord Bishop of Cork.' Smith's 'Cork,' vol. i. p. 159.

reclaiming of unprofitable bog,' was empowered to take, on lease of sixty-one years, fifty acres of bog, plantation measure, and half an acre of arable land, 'as a site of a house, or for the purpose of delving for gravel or limestone for manure, next adjoining to such bog;' the bog to be four feet deep, for if less it was not to be considered unprofitable, and consequently should not be let to a Papist: if at least one half was not reclaimed in twenty-one years, the lease was to be null and void to all intents and purposes.[1]

We may well realize what these laws were, what their effects and what the spirit in which they were devised, when we read this Act, brought forward and solemnly passed by the Legislature, less than one hundred years ago, and gladly accepted as a relaxation. But on whom was the boon conferred? Was it on a small section of the inhabitants—on strangers or aliens? No; it was on the vast majority of the population—on those whose fathers had held possession for centuries of nearly all the land of the country. But by what motive was the relaxation prompted? Was it to relieve from grievous disabilities the Irish Catholic subjects of His Majesty King George III., or, as they are termed in the statute, 'Papists or persons professing the Popish religion?' No; for, with admirable candour, the title of the Act sets forth that its object was 'to encourage the reclaiming of unprofitable bogs in Ireland.'

By an Act passed in 1777,[2] Catholics were allowed to take leases not exceeding 999 years certain, or determinable on any number of lives not exceeding five, but subject to a *bonâ fide* rent in money. Their lands were also made descendable, deviseable, and transferable, the same as those of any others of His Majesty's subjects, and they were permitted to inherit accordingly. Children conforming were barred from filing a Bill against their 'Popish parents' for maintenance, and eldest sons

[1] 11th and 12th George III., c. 21, A.D. 1771–2. 'Irish Statutes,' vol x. p. 262.

[2] 17th and 18th George III., c. 49. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. xi. p. 298.

becoming Protestants from altering their 'Popish parents'' estates. Titles of lands not litigated before November 1, 1778, were confirmed to 'the Papists in possession.' They were also empowered to let on leases of lives.

These were, indeed, considerable relaxations: but they, and the removal of commercial restrictions about the same time, appear to have been the result of expediency, not of good feeling, for England was then engaged in a disastrous war with her American colonies, successfully asserting their independence.[1]

Still further measures of relief were enacted in 1782.[2] Previous to the passing of this Act, a Catholic was bound, under pain of fine and imprisonment, to appear before two justices of the peace, and testify, on oath, 'where and when he heard the Popish mass celebrated, and also the names of the persons celebrating and present at it.'[3] He was also prevented having a horse worth more than five pounds;[4] and he was bound to provide a Protestant watchman to watch in his turn.[5] Such laws were in existence less than ninety years ago, so that there are some now living whose fathers suffered under their operation.

The laws, too, which excluded Catholics from the exercise of the legal profession were gradually relaxed.[6] Thus, from June 24, 1792, a Papist might be admitted barrister, attorney, solicitor, or notary; and an attorney or solicitor might take any Papist for apprentice or clerk. The clause disabling from practice any Protestant barrister, attorney, or solicitor marrying a Papist wife was also repealed; as was also that compelling solicitors to bring up their children Protestants.

[1] In 1764 the British Ministry attempted, for the first time, to raise a revenue in America for purposes not colonial. The colonists resisted. Blood was first drawn in April 1775; in 1776 the American Congress published their Declaration of Independence; and in 1782 the war terminated in their favour.

[2] 21st and 22nd George III., c. 24. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. xii. p. 237.

[3] 8th Anne, c. 3, sec. 21, hereby repealed.

[4] 7th William III., c. 5, sec. 10, hereby repealed.

[5] 6th George I., c. 10, sec. 5, hereby repealed.

[6] 6th Anne, chapter 6, repealed by the 32nd George III., c. 21. A.D. 1792. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. xvi. p. 271.

By the Act of 1793, His Majesty's Popish or Roman Catholic[1] subjects were permitted to vote at Parliamentary elections.[2] This Act, which extended the forty-shilling franchise to the Catholics of Ireland, exercised, as we shall presently see, a very important influence on the social, economic, and political condition of the country.[3]

By the same Act the professions of the Army and Navy, and places of trust or profit under the Crown, with the exception of a long list of offices, from that of lord-lieutenant down to the sub-sheriff of a county, were thrown open to the Catholics.[4]

CHAPTER LXX.

BRIEF REVIEW OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF IRELAND AFTER THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM III.—HOW THE RESULTS OF THE MISDEEDS AND MISGOVERNMENT OF THE PAST THEN BEGAN TO SETTLE DOWN INTO THE DETERMINATE FORM IN WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN PERPETUATED TO OUR DAY—COMPLETELY BROKEN STATE OF THE NATION; THE CHIEFS ALL BANISHED; ILLUSTRIOUS IRISHMEN IN OTHER COUNTRIES; NONE IN IRELAND; LANDS RACK-RENTED; TILLAGE ABANDONED FOR PASTURE; LAMENTABLE CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY; WANT OF EMPLOYMENT; INJURIOUS COMMERCIAL RESTRICTIONS; GENERAL DEPRESSION AND POVERTY OF THE NATION.

LET us now briefly review the social and economic condition of the country at that period when the dynasty of William of Orange was firmly established on the throne of the Stuarts.

The Irish were now reduced to a state of utter prostration: their leaders exiled, their lands confiscated, their religion proscribed. The working people had gradually returned, and

[1] This appears to be the commencement of the use of the designation Roman Catholic, instead of the offensive terms 'Papist' and 'Popish person,' previously adopted in the statutes.

[2] 33rd George III. c. 21, A.D. 1793. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. xvi. p. 685.

[3] See 35th George III., c. 29, sec. 30, for forty shillings freeholders. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. xvii. p. 536.

[4] 33rd George III. c. 21, secs. 7 and 9. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. xvi. p. 687.

spread over the lands, with either the tacit acquiescence, or at the desire of the settlers, who could not carry on agricultural operations without them; but they lived in the condition of serfs. Several of those working men were descended from, or had been themselves, lords of the soil they now tilled. The whole country wore an air of desolation.

It was then that the results of the misgovernment and misdeeds of the past—of the confiscations, proscriptions, persecutions, and penal enactments against the national creed—began to settle down into that determinate form in which they have been perpetuated to within the memory of many now living. The century was marked by isolated feeble explosions of resistance to individual wrong and oppression; but, on the whole, the country was so prostrate that, when two rebellions for the Stuarts took place in Great Britain,[1] 'Ireland mâde no sign.' She needed no armed occupation to preserve her tranquillity.

Nor was this submission the effect of content, but of mere stupefaction and brokenness of heart. The iron had entered into the soul. The memory of past defeats, the habit of daily enduring insult and oppression, had cowed the spirit of the unhappy nation. There were indeed Irish Roman Catholics of great ability, energy, and ambition: but they were to be found everywhere except in Ireland: at Versailles and at Saint Ildefonso, in the armies of Frederick, and in the armies of Maria Theresa. One exile became a Marshal of France. Another became Prime Minister of Spain. If he had staid in his native land he would have been regarded as an inferior by all the ignorant and worthless squireens who drank the Glorious and Immortal Memory. In his palace at Madrid he had the pleasure of being assiduously courted by the ambassador of George II., and in bidding defiance in high terms to the ambassador of George III.[2] Scattered over all Europe were to be found brave Irish generals, dexterous Irish diplomatists, Irish counts, Irish barons, Irish knights of Saint Louis and of Saint Leopold, of the White Eagle and of the Golden Fleece, who, if they had remained in the house of bondage, could not have been ensigns of marching regiments, or freemen of petty corporations.

[1] A.D. 1715 and 1745.

[2] Wall, Minister of Ferdinand VI. and Charles III. of Spain.

These men, the natural chiefs of their race, having been withdrawn, what remained was utterly helpless and passive. A rising of the Irishry against the Englishry was no more to be apprehended than a rising of the women and children against the men.[1]

We have already seen how much Ireland suffered about this time from State interference with her trade and manufactures. The following extracts from Dean Swift will show us under what serious discouragement she also laboured with regard to all agricultural improvement:—

Another great calamity is the exorbitant raising of the rents of lands. Upon the determination of all leases made before the year 1690, a gentleman thinks he has but indifferently improved his estate if he has only doubled his rent-roll. Farms are screwed up to a rack-rent—leases granted but for a small term of years—tenants tied down to hard conditions and discouraged from cultivating the land they occupy to the best advantage, by the certainty they have of the rent being raised, on the expiration of their lease, proportionably to the improvements they shall make. Thus is honest industry restrained; the farmer is a slave to his landlord; 'tis well if he can cover his family with a coarse home-spun frieze. The artizan has little dealings with him; yet he is obliged to take his provisions from him at an extravagant price, otherwise the farmer cannot pay his rent.

The proprietors of lands keep great part of them in their own hands for sheep-pasture; and there are thousands of poor wretches who think themselves blessed if they can obtain a hut worse than the squire's dog-kennel, and an acre of ground for a potato plantation, on condition of being as very slaves as any in America. What can be more deplorable than to behold wretches starving in the midst of plenty!

We are apt to charge the Irish with laziness, because we seldom find them employed; but then we don't consider they have nothing to do.[2]

---

[1] Macaulay, 'Hist. England,' vol. iv. p. 114. 'We look upon them,' says Dean Swift, 'to be altogether as inconsiderable as the women and children. Their lands are almost entirely taken from them, and they are rendered incapable of purchasing any more; and for the little that remains, provision is made by the late Act against Popery, that it will daily crumble away. In the mean time, the common people, without leaders, without discipline, or natural courage, being little better than hewers of wood and drawers of water, are out of all capacity of doing any mischief, if they were ever so well inclined.'

[2] 'Miserable State of Ireland.' Swift's Works, vol. vii. p. 198.

In his 'Short View of the State of Ireland in 1727,' the same accurate observer and able writer says:—

As to the first cause of a nation's riches being the fertility of the soil, as well as the temperature of the climate, we have no reason to complain.

In the second, which is the industry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which Nature has bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, Ireland is so utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within these fifty or sixty years it can hardly be said that the nation has received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade in.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures whenever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state: yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce; besides an Act of Navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention.

It is too well known that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to. Thus we are in the condition of patients who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease; and thus we are forced to pay 500 per cent. to decide our properties: [1] in all which we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land, those few who attempt that or planting, through covetousness or want of skill, generally leave things worse than they were, neither succeeding in trees nor hedges, and, by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are so far from having a king to reside among us that even the viceroy is generally absent four-fifths of his time in the government.

---

[1] 'The Appeal to the British House of Peers.' 6th George I. c. 5, enacted in 1719.

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their travels, where they can expect to see nothing but scenes of misery and desolation.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here have the least title to any considerable employment, to which they are seldom preferred but upon a political consideration.

One-third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England; which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journeys of pleasure or health, education at the inns of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.[1]

Further on he adds:—

A stranger visiting Ireland would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Ysland, rather than in a country so favoured by Nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of climate. The miserable dress and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hog-sty to receive them. . . . There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland, which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and clothes, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars. The lowness of interest, in all other countries a sign of wealth, is in us a proof of misery; there being no trade to employ any borrower.[2]

What a great deal of this have we not seen in our own time—the tillers of the soil serfs to the proprietors; the farmer's industry checked by the fact that he felt he was not working for himself; great tracts of land laid down in grass which might have been much better used as tillage; the persistent absence of the sovereign from this part of the royal dominions; the considerable employments of the country systematically conferred on English and Scotch—not Irishmen; one-third part of the rental of Ireland spent out of the country by absentees; 'the lowness of

[1] Swift's Works, vol. vii. pp. 115 to 117. [2] Ibid. 118.

interest,' or, in other words, the money of the farmers, instead of being invested in the land, lent by them to the banks at 1½ per cent. and transmitted to England to be employed as capital there; the miserable dress and diet of the people, their wretched dwellings, their want of employment, their chronic condition of famine and fever, all of which have made travellers visiting Ireland again and again describe it as a land of misery; and, though last not least, that which is naturally omitted from the Dean's catalogue, the church of a small minority, enjoying all the power and wealth and patronage, imposed on a reluctant nation!

Happily, all this has now begun to pass away—happily for Ireland, but still more so for the empire, of which Ireland is an integral part.

CHAPTER LXXI.

LAND-LETTING SYSTEM AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—ORIGIN OF MIDDLEMEN—CONACRE—THE MIDDLEMEN DESCRIBED; THEIR FORMER IDLE, EXTRAVAGANT HABITS; THEIR OPPRESSION OF THE TENANTRY—COMMON ERROR ABOUT 'LONG LEASES AT LOW RENTS IN IRELAND' EXPOSED—THE GRAZIERS; THEIR LARGE HOLDINGS AT LOW RENTS—FORMER PROVISION TRADE OF IRELAND; OF CORK—AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT NEGLECTED.

Owing to the small value of land in Ireland—land lying in a state of nature, under the system just described—and the miserable condition of the country, the new owners of property about the beginning of the eighteenth century, let their lands very extensively, at low rents, on leases for ever, residing themselves chiefly in England. Their lessees became virtually the head landlords, and are generally regarded as such by writers on the land system of Ireland. These men, in their turn, let to middlemen, on leases of three lives, and these last sublet to the working tenants, on leases of twenty-one or thirty-one years, at

excessively high rents, considering the actual value, and wholly unimproved state of the farms.[1]

But the subletting did not cease here. The working farmers let off, by the year, a considerable portion of their holdings, in small patches, for potato ground to the cottiers, who paid the most exorbitant rents, and had no choice but to pay them; for they must have paid them or starved. This was the commencement of the wretched system of Conacre, which overspread the land with a miserable, half-starved, half-naked population, to whom existence was a desperate struggle, and whose ranks were decimated almost every year by famine and fever. How they managed to subsist, and how they paid their rents, we shall presently see.

As regards the middlemen, they were men of no industry or exertion; they were merely drawers of rent—a class created by the unhappy circumstances of the times; and by those circumstances were their habits and characters formed and moulded for many generations. Of the dominant creed (for no 'Papist' could hold land for a term of more than thirty-one years, or at a rent of less than two-thirds of the improved annual value at the time of letting,) they lorded it over the peasantry as the West Indian planter ruled his slaves. Idle, dissolute, and extravagant, their embarrassments became such, that it was a matter of absolute necessity with them to extract as much out of the tenantry as they possibly could extract.[2]

They are thus described by Arthur Young, in 1779:[3]—

Sometimes they are resident on a part of the land, but very often

[1] There were sometimes two sets of middlemen. One, holding from the head landlord, let to another at an enhanced rent, and the latter sublet to the working farmer.

[2] These observations apply to the middlemen of the last century, and of the commencement of this. Doubtless, even then, there were some exceptions. In our days, up to 1847, when the class ceased to exist, there were many excellent men among them. But they all were the instruments and victims of a bad system—a system now belonging to the past.

[3] 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 18.

they are not. Dublin, Bath, London, and the country towns of Ireland contain great numbers of them; the merit of this class is surely ascertained in a moment; there cannot be a shadow of a pretence for the intervention of a man whose single concern with an estate is to deduct a portion from the rent of it. They are, however, sometimes resident on a part of the land they hire, where it is natural to suppose they would work some improvements; it is however very rarely the case. I have in different parts of the kingdom seen farms just fallen in after leases of three lives, of the duration of fifty, sixty, and even seventy years, in which the residence of the principal tenant was not to be distinguished from the cottared fields surrounding it. I was at first much surprised at this, but after repeated observation, I found these men very generally were the masters of packs of wretched hounds, with which they wasted their time and money, and it is a notorious fact, that they are the hardest drinkers in Ireland. Indeed the class of the small country gentlemen, chiefly consisting of these profit renters, seem at present to monopolize that drinking spirit, which was, not many years ago, the disgrace of the kingdom at large: this I conjecture to be the reason why those who might improve are so very far from doing it; but there are still greater objections to them.

Living upon the spot, surrounded by their little under-tenants, they prove the most oppressive species of tyrant that ever lent assistance to the destruction of a country. They relet the land, at short tenures, to the occupiers of small farms, and often give no leases at all. Not satisfied with screwing up the rent to the uttermost farthing, they are rapacious and relentless in the collection of it.

But farther: the dependance of the occupier on the resident middleman goes to other circumstances: personal service of themselves, their cars and horses, is exacted for leading turf, hay, corn, gravel, &c., insomuch that the poor under-tenants often lose their own crops and turf, from being obliged to obey these calls of their superiors. Nay, I have even heard these jobbers gravely assert that without under-tenants to furnish cars and teams at half or two-thirds the common price of the country, they could carry on no improvements at all; yet taking a merit to themselves for works wrought out of the sweat and ruin of a pack of wretches, assigned to their plunder by the inhumanity of the landholders.

In a word, the case is reducible to a short compass; intermediate tenants work no improvements; if non-resident they *cannot*, and if resident they *do not*; but they oppress the occupiers, and render them as incapable as they are themselves unwilling. The kingdom is an aggregate proof of these facts; for if long leases, at low rents, and profit

incomes given, would have improved it, Ireland had long ago been a garden. It remains to enquire, whether the landlord's security is a full recompense for so much mischief.

I have sometimes seen this last sentence of Arthur Young unintentionally misconstrued by those who oppose the granting of long leases, or leases of any kind, to Irish tenants. They say, 'Here you have it on the evidence of an experienced writer, that the system of long leases at low rents has been tried, and has signally failed.' From their arguing thus, it is clear that they have never read Arthur Young, but have merely met the sentence in a detached form, being quite ignorant of its bearing in the context of the whole passage. Otherwise they would have seen that the long leases at low rents, here referred to, were held by the middlemen and not by the working farmers, who, being 'Papists,' could not hold for a longer term than thirty-one years, and invariably paid exorbitant rents.

Another evil of the system was, that not unfrequently the under-tenants, who had paid their rents, were distrained for arrears due by the middleman.

But here it is proper to observe, that though the intermediate man is generally better security than the little occupier, yet it is not from thence to be concluded, as I have often heard it, that the latter is beyond all comparison beneath him in this respect; the contrary is often the case; and I have known the fact, that the landlord, disappointed of his rent, has *drove* (distrained) the under-tenants for it at a time when they had actually paid it to the middleman. If the profit rent is spent, as it very generally is in claret and hounds, the notion of good security will prove visionary, as many a landlord in Ireland has found it: several very considerable ones have assured me, that the little occupiers were the *best* pay they had on their estates, and the intermediate *gentlemen* tenants by much the *worst*.[1]

As the century went on, several of the Catholics, availing of the relaxation of the Penal Laws, took large tracts of grazing land at very low rents, and thus entered the class of 'graziers,' by far the wealthiest occupiers in the kingdom. In Limerick,

[1] 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 20.

Tipperary, Meath, Clare, and Waterford, towards the end of the last century, 'they rented and occupied from 3,000*l.* to 10,000*l.* a year, being the greatest graziers and cow-keepers perhaps in the world.'[1] Their accumulations were very rapid, owing to the large demand for provisions for the Royal Navy, which Ireland chiefly supplied. In the city of Cork alone over 100,000 head of cattle were slaughtered every year. Ireland has for some years lost that trade, being underbid by the foreigner; and she now sends her cattle to England, about 400,000 head annually alive on the decks of steamers.[2]

The graziers, deriving large profits from their rich lands, allowed them to lie in a state of nature, avoiding tillage, and, as far as possible, the employment of labour of any kind.

In the arable counties there was much more industry; but the whole system, as we have seen, was bad, and agricultural improvement was next to nothing. There were some isolated cases, it is true, of wonders effected in the reclamation of mountain lots, by the unceasing toil of small cottiers, encouraged by enlightened landlords; but these were only exceptions.

[1] A. Young, 'Tour,' vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 21.

[2] 397,654 oxen, bulls, and cows, and 76,217 calves, in 1867.

CHAPTER LXXII.

HIGH RENTS FROM WAR PRICES; REACTION, ON PEACE OF 1815—NUMEROUS SMALL TENANTRY; THE FORTY-SHILLING FREEHOLDERS—WAGES AT THE MINIMUM—MARKET WAGES AND NATURAL WAGES; THE LATTER THE FOUNDATION OF THE CONACRE SYSTEM—TRUCK OR BARTER OF LABOUR FOR USE OF POTATO GROUND; EVILS THEREOF—COMPARISON OF LABOURERS' WAGES AND CONACRE-RENT OF 1776 AND 1846—MISERABLE CONDITION OF THE COTTIER TENANT AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS CENTURY—THE FARMERS AND COTTIERS THEN MERE SERFS; INSTANCES OF THE TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION UNDER WHICH THEY SUFFERED—FLAWS IN LEASES AVAILED OF, TO THEIR WRONG.

THE rise of prices, resulting from the war with France, enabled the occupying tenants to pay large rents to the middlemen. These latter lived fully up to their incomes—incomes based on war prices, so that when the reaction took place, on the establishment of peace in 1815, many of them succumbed, while others who had been less imprudent survived. The crisis necessarily entailed great suffering on the working farmers, who were subject to excessive rents, and, through them, on the cottiers or labouring population.

These last had now overspread the land, and had increased and multiplied in every direction. On the passing of the Act of 1793, extending the forty-shilling franchise to the Catholics of Ireland, the middlemen, with a view to political influence, of which they thought more than of improving their properties, encouraged the creation of a numerous tenantry of small cottiers; and the farmers could not make the heavy rents they assumed without these sub-tenants, who furnished them with labour at the minimum, or lowest possible rate of wages.

Wages are divided by economists into *market wages*, or the remuneration ordinarily received by labourers from their employers according to the rates of the labour market, and *natural wages*, or that amount which is absolutely necessary to enable the labourer to subsist and continue his race.

The latter had been arrived at under the conacre system. They were, in fact, the foundation on which it stood.

The system was this:—The farmer having little or no capital with which to pay wages, let off to labourers each year as much land manured for potatoes as paid the labour bill, or, more correctly speaking, supplied the labour of the farm. In other words, it was a system of truck or barter under which the cottier gave his labour to the farmer in exchange for the use of his land.[1]

There were two things highly objectionable in this system. One was, that it dispensed, to a great extent, with money payments; and the other, that the farmer, compelled by his necessities, and naturally availing of the competition for land on the one hand, and the glut of the labour market, resulting from the low productive industry of the country, on the other, let his land at *an extremely high* rate, and paid the wages of labour at *the lowest*.

In 1776, the rent of an acre of potato land manured was 6*l.*, and the labourer's wages were 5*d.* per day. In 1846, the conacre rent was 10*l.*, and the average rate of wages 8*d.* Consequently, the labourer in 1846 actually received one-fifth of a penny per day less than the labourer of seventy years previous. But this was not all; for the labourer of 1776 was much better off in other respects. He always had the grass of a cow or two, and thus had plenty of milk for his family; he had invariably an abundance of potatoes, and generally turf for fuel from a bog. Every cottage swarmed with poultry, and most of them had pigs.[2] In 1846, the labourer had no cow; and, at the utmost, only a pig,[3] which was a most important member of the

[1] 'In many parts of Ireland,' says Mr. Wakefield, 'a considerable transfer of property, as well as payment of labour, takes place by tally between landlord and tenant. Under this system people purchase at the dearest rate without knowing it. It prevails throughout the greater part of Ireland.' —Vol. ii. p. 17. A.D. 1800.

[2] A. Young, 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. i. p. 28, and passim.

[3] Caird, 'Plantation Scheme.'

establishment, and was commonly called 'the banker,' as he was sold to pay the rent of the little cabin.

Here is another phase of the same system, as described by Mr. Wakefield in 1808.[1] The farmer who held from five to fifty acres throve in consequence of the rise of the times (that is, war prices), and was never under the necessity of paying anything for labour. The cottier-tenant hired a cabin, the worst in the country, with a small patch of potato land, at a rent of 30*s.* per acre. He also agreed for the keep of a *collop*, or half a *collop*.[2] At the same time he worked for his landlord at the small wages of 5*d.* a day, but when he came to settle he received nothing, as the food of his few sheep was set off against what he charged for labour. In this manner the poor cottier had to toil without end, while his family eked out a wretched subsistence on the produce of the small spot of land he had hired. This was called by the lower classes of the Irish at the time 'working for a dead horse,' that is, getting into debt. They plainly saw the evil of the system, but they could not help themselves.

This very low rate of wages could coexist only with the extensive culture of the potato—the lowest and cheapest kind of food on which human beings could subsist. With a bread-stuff diet, the *natural* rate of wages must be considerably higher. The price of labour, almost *nil* at the commencement of this century, seems to have had its effect on the graziers, and to have induced them to mix some tillage with their pasture; for they assured Mr. Wakefield in 1808, that 'people pay more rent than

[1] Vol. i. p. 253.

[2] Mountain grazing. Collops.—At this time, a mixture of grazing and tillage was seldom adopted except by gentlemen in Ireland. The mountains, instead of being grazed by their owners or large occupiers, were frequently let on a partnership lease to the inhabitants of a mountain village, each of whom turned out a fixed number of *collops*, according to his share of the tenure. These collops, for the most part, were cows, goats, or geese; and the only saleable produce of such districts was butter. A collop is, one horse, or two cows, or one cow and two yearling calves, six sheep, or ten goats, or twenty geese.

bullocks, without the employment of capital, and therefore they took in all the cottier-tenants they could collect.[1]

The farmers and cottiers were the veriest serfs—completely at the mercy of their masters, of the dominant creed, economically, socially, politically. They felt, and they were constantly reminded by the circumstances of their daily life and the traditions of their fathers, that by their landlords and by the statute law itself, they were merely tolerated on the face of the land. It is true, that though debarred from all political privileges, and jealously excluded from every avenue of social advancement, they still held on to the faith of their ancestors; but then, their modest little chapels, hidden away in remote dells or the back slums of a town, and so inadequate to the requirements of the congregation, that, on the Sundays, hundreds of worshippers might be seen kneeling outside the door, exposed to the inclemency of the weather—these, the places of worship of nine-tenths of the population, existed only by sufferance. By sufferance only their humble priest, who ministered to their spiritual wants, continued to live and labour among them. By sufferance too, huddled in a ditch, they were able to secure to themselves, what Irishmen have always so highly prized, the blessings of education.

Some degree of education is also general (says Arthur Young); hedge schools, as they are called (they might as well be termed *ditch* ones, for I have seen many a ditch full of scholars) are everywhere to be met with, where reading and writing are taught; schools are also common for men; I have seen a dozen great fellows at school, and was told they were educating with an intention of being priests. Many strokes in their character are evidently to be ascribed to the extreme oppression under which they live.[2]

Thus far indeed the Penal Laws had been *mercifully* relaxed; but at any moment they might be re-enacted.

[1] Wakefield's 'Ireland,' vol. i. p. 267.
[2] 'Tour in Ireland,' vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 107.

In 1809, Mr. Wakefield was informed,[1] that if the occupying tenants were desired to state how much they would give for their land, they were so frightened that they never made an offer, but rather remained silent, and afterwards submitted to any terms that the middleman might think fit to impose. There was no instance of their quitting the land rather than accede to the proposed conditions.[2]

The same writer tells us of a case of landlord tyranny and extortion which occurred in the county of Down in 1808, on one of the best estates in that county, and which, as it could not be doubted, for he had it on the best authority, he considered, ought to be publicly known from one end of the empire to the other. As soon as the proprietor came to age, his agent sent notice to all the tenants whose leases were expired, that there could be no renewal for them unless each consented to pay a fine of ten guineas per acre! But this was not all. To those in possession of leases a threat was held out, that unless they surrendered their leases, paid the required fine, and took out new leases, a mark would be placed against their names in the rental book, and not only they, but their heirs and families, would be for ever excluded from the benefit of a renewal.

Can words be found sufficiently strong (exclaims this English gentleman, conversant for many years with the management of land in England)—can words be found sufficiently strong to characterize this unparalleled exaction? Was it anything else than levying a tax of ten guineas per acre, nearly in the same manner as the autocrat of Russia would order a new impost by an Imperial ukase?

Those who would stoop to be the advocates of despotism, or to vindicate oppression, may perhaps tell me that the cases are widely different, and that the tenants were not obliged to submit to so unjust a demand. But the estate to which I allude extends over many miles of country, and a refusal on their part would have been sealing an act of expatriation. They had no alternative—they could only comply: and thus

[1] By Mr. William Trench of Cangor Park, 'a gentleman distinguished for his acuteness and observation.'—Vol. i. p. 260.

[2] Wakefield's 'Ireland,' vol. i. p. 260.

the hard-earned savings of many years' labour were wrested from the hands of industry, to be employed, perhaps, in the worst of purposes. . . . . It was the apparent act of the numerous agents who infest the estate; but the plan must have been known to, and approved by, the owner. . . . . When tenants experience treatment of this kind, can they be attached to their landlord? And must not such conduct contribute, in no small degree, to increase discontent, and excite disaffection? [1]

Let us hope that such cases were not general. That such things should at all occur, nay, that they were possible, can be understood only by those who, like my readers, have traced the history of Ireland, political, social, and economic, down from the first Parliament of Kilkenny to the commencement of this century.

Instances were not infrequent at the time of advantage being taken of the slightest flaw in the powers of a lessor.

A practice which those who take leases should guard against, is that of fining down the rent by the payment of a large sum when the contract is first made; for in most settlements this circumstance will vitiate the lease. The custom of taking all advantage of such oversight is now so general that breaking a contract of this kind is not considered in Ireland as the smallest violation of honour. I have frequently been in company with noblemen and gentlemen who had acted in this manner with perfect impunity, and who did not seem in the least ashamed of their conduct.[2]

The worst feature in such transactions appears to be the 'perfect impunity' of those who thus set at naught the first principles of common honesty. What a state of society it must have been that not only tolerated but condoned such conduct! 'I am however happy to state,' continues Mr. Wakefield, 'that a more delicate sense of moral rectitude seems to prevail among the people of England. A gentleman in Essex a few years ago took a similar advantage to the prejudice of his tenants; but, though he raised his income by this mean subterfuge, he lost the confidence of his neighbours, and his conduct was universally detested.'[3]

[1] Wakefield's 'Ireland,' vol. i. p. 257. [2] Ibid. p. 244. [3] Ibid.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

TITHES; THE PECULIAR BURDEN OF THE POOR MAN IN IRELAND FORMERLY; THE RICH NEARLY ALTOGETHER EXEMPT—TITHE OF AGISTMENT ABOLISHED BY A RESOLUTION OF THE IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1735; ITS ABOLITION MADE LAW BY THE ACT OF UNION IN 1800—TITHES THUS THROWN ALTOGETHER ON TILLAGE—GENERAL MODE OF COLLECTING TITHES IN IRELAND; THE PROCTOR, THE MIDDLE-PROCTOR; THE FARMING OF TITHES; SALE OF TITHES BY AUCTION, ON THE PREMISES—TITHES A CHECK TO INDUSTRY—FEELINGS OF A POOR COTTIER HANDING OVER ONE-TENTH OF HIS GROSS PRODUCE, A FIRST CHARGE, TO THE MINISTER OF A CREED ANTAGONISTIC TO HIS OWN; THE INTERIOR LIFE OF THIS POOR COTTIER, AS SKETCHED BY AN ENGLISH MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, FIFTY YEARS AGO; HIS ONLY COW SEIZED FOR TITHE—SUCH CASES FREQUENT; THEIR RESULTS, GENERAL EXASPERATION AND AGRARIAN OUTRAGE—THE EVILS OF THE TITHE SYSTEM FREQUENTLY URGED ON THE EXECUTIVE, BUT WITH NO EFFECT; MR. GRATTAN THEREON IN 1788—GREAT NUMBER OF PROCESSES FOR TITHES IN QUARTER SESSIONS; THE COSTS OF PROCEEDINGS VERY HEAVY ON THE DEFENDANTS.

TITHES were the peculiar burden of the poor man in Ireland. From them the rich were nearly altogether exempt. That the poor persecuted farmers and cottiers should have been compelled to contribute a large proportion towards the support of the dominant creed—a creed sought for centuries to be forced upon them by grievous pains and penalties—may, from what we have already seen, be well understood; but that they had to bear nearly the whole incidence of this tax on industry, of this impost so galling to their feelings and so opposed to their conscientious convictions, will come upon many of my English readers with no small surprise. But such was the case, and in the history of no other country in any age is such an anomaly presented.

After the Reformation the clergy of the Establishment had great difficulty for a considerable time in collecting their tithes, as the lands of the country were nearly all in the possession of the Catholics. But, after the Treaty of Limerick, when the

Catholics were universally dispossessed and broken down, the new possessors evinced fully as strong an objection to yield to the ministers of their own creed those tenths to which they were constitutionally entitled. In the year 1720 the clergy, being systematically refused by the landlords the tithe of agistment,[1] took proceedings to recover it in the Court of Exchequer. The law decided in their favour, but this by no means settled the question. Their claim in every instance was strenuously resisted; and in the year 1735 the Irish House of Commons adopted unanimously the resolution, 'that any lawyer assisting in a prosecution for tithes of agistment should be considered an enemy to his country.' This resolution had practically all the force and effect of an Act of Parliament. The incumbents were robbed, but they were powerless; for what could they do against the supreme authority of the State? The case stood thus for sixty-five years, when in the debate on the Act of Union[2] Sir John Macartney, aware that such a resolution was not law, moved, as part of the Act, the abolishment of tithe of agistment, which was meant merely to throw a stumbling-block in the way of the Union, as it was not expected the minister would agree to such a measure. The minister suffered it quietly to pass, and that which before the Union was only a resolution of the House of Commons then became a formal Act of Parliament. The tithes of Ireland therefore fell on only tillage land, which was nearly altogether held by the peasantry. As tillage increased with the growth of population tithes

[1] Agistment (from the French *gésir*, the Norman *agiser*, to be levant and couchant), the taking and feeding of other men's cattle in the king's forest, or on one's own land. The tithe of agistment, properly speaking, was the tithe of cattle and other produce of grass lands, paid to the rector by the occupier of the land, and not by the person who sent his cattle there to graze, at a certain rate per head per week. The Irish proprietors, however, feeling that they had the power, as they constituted both Houses of Parliament, determined that their own fat bullocks and cows grazing on their own lands should be altogether exempt from tithe, and that the impost should fall exclusively on the tillage of the farmers, they having little or no tillage themselves.

[2] A.D. 1800.

increased in the same proportion, and the increase steadily went on, for the poor cottiers should either resort to tillage or starve.

The general mode of collecting tithes in Ireland was by a proctor, who immediately before harvest estimated the number of barrels of corn, tons of hay, cwts. of potatoes or flax, on each farm, and calculating by the market prices, ascertained the amount to be paid by the owner.

In some cases the incumbent let his tithe as he would let a farm, and it was collected from the occupier in the manner above described. But frequently the lessee relet at a profit to another, and the former was called the middle proctor.

In the south, sometimes, the tithes were set out and sold by auction on the premises to the highest bidder; and in Connaught it was customary to call a sale previously to harvest, at which the tithe was sold to anyone who chose to collect it. When exposed in this manner, we are told, it would sell for little, did not the temptation of the facility of payment by a promissory note at six months induce people to bid.[1]

This system was directly a check to industry. The more a farmer or cottier by unceasing toil increased the produce of his land the more had he to pay to the rector or to his lessee. Ten acres yielding 100*l.* gross produce had to pay 10*l.* tithes, while the same ten acres producing 50*l.* would have been subject to only 5*l.*

The occupier of these ten acres, toiling from early dawn until the shades of night closed in upon his humble labour, had, and felt that he had, a jealous eye upon him.[2] Nine-tenths of his year's produce might go to defray his landlord's

[1] Wakefield's 'Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 488.

[2] 'Conceive the pastor looking over the hedge, like a spy, to mulct the extraordinary labours of the husbandman. Conceive him coming into the field, and saying, "You are a deserving husbandman; you have increased the value of your field by the sweat of your brow; Sir, I will make you pay for that."'—Grattan, Speech on Tithes, February 14, 1788.

rent and clothe and feed his large family, but not until one-tenth, the first charge, was handed over to the minister of a creed alien to his own, antagonistic to his own—a creed to propagate which he and his ancestors had for centuries been despoiled and persecuted, and all but exterminated from the face of the land! What must not this poor man have felt under such an oppressive impost as he struggled to exist on his little ten-acre lot—a desperate struggle in the best of years! Sickness and sorrow might come upon him, want and misery might come upon him, but still the parson or his proctor should be paid. He felt that the wealthy grazier close beside him, or the noble proprietor of 10,000 acres, although of the favoured creed, was comparatively exempt. But he dared not express his feelings.

Let us now enter the abode of a poor cottier such as this: let us accompany thither an intelligent English Protestant gentleman, a member of the Imperial Parliament, who made a tour of Ireland some fifty years ago,[1] and then let us see how, in such abodes, poverty and suffering found a still deeper depth through the rapacity and extortion of the tithe system.

We entered a cabin in the neighbourhood of Navan, about four o'clock, and found the family at dinner. The party consisted of the man, his wife, and seven children. Potatoes, their only fare, were served in a wooden bowl, on a stool; the elder children ate with their parents, the younger feasted out of an iron pot on the floor. Appetite seemed to give a relish to the food, while a small jug of butter-milk was reserved to crown and complete the repast. In reply to some inquiries I made as to his wages the poor fellow observed, 'Our fare is well enough, and satisfies us all; my only concern is that I cannot earn sufficient to cover the nakedness of these poor children; could I clothe them I should be happy!' The whole family, it is true, was indeed in a most ragged condition—pity it should be so! It is not in appearance only that they suffer, but real misery

[1] 'Observations on the State of Ireland, principally directed to its Agriculture and Rural Population, written on a Tour through that country by J. C Curwen, Esq., M.P.' London, 1818.

must be endured by each individual from the severity of the cold. By the aid of his pig, and what manure the children could collect from the road, he was annually enabled to plant about a rood of potatoes, for which he paid after the rate of five pounds an acre for the land; but when manure is furnished by the landlord the rent is doubled.

The hopeless despondency which seemed to pervade the hearts of this poor family spoke in most emphatic though painful language to our feelings—deeply is their lot to be lamented, and the more as it arises out of circumstances they have neither ability to correct, nor power to control, and which there is little reason to hope can be easily remedied.[1]

This is a correct picture of the interior life, if I may so call it, of the Irish cottier of that day. I have several others before me, but let one suffice. The impersonation of poverty and wretchedness—surely, if there were an exemption from the incidence of tithes, it ought to have been these poor sufferers, and not the wealthy proprietors of the great pastures of the country.

With this grievance Englishmen are unacquainted (observes Mr. Wakefield); our country exhibits nothing that so loudly calls for redress. The poor are exposed to sufferings with us, as well as in other countries; but they have the consolation of seeing the rich subjected to their share of the burden. A stranger who travels in his carriage to the lakes of Killarney will hear no complaint on this subject; but let him turn aside and visit the cabins of the poor, and he will soon be convinced that there is no exaggeration in what I have stated.

I wish, for the sake of humanity, and for the honour of the Irish character, that the gentlemen of that country would take this matter into their serious consideration. Let them only for a moment place themselves in the situation of the half-famished cottier, surrounded by a wretched family, clamorous for food; and judge what his feelings must be, when he sees the tenth part of the produce of his potato garden exposed at harvest time to public *cant*;[2] or if he have given a

---

[1] Curwen's 'Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 161.

[2] Cant (from Latin *canto*, to sing), an outcry at a public sale of goods; a call for bidders at an auction.—Swift. The same as auction in England, and roup in Scotland.

promissory note for the payment of a certain sum of money, to compensate for such tithe when it becomes due, to hear the heart-rending cries of his offspring clinging round him, and lamenting for the milk of which they are deprived, by the cow's being driven to the pound, to be sold to discharge the debt. Such accounts are not the creations of fancy; the facts do exist, and are but too common in Ireland. Were one of them transferred to canvas by the hand of genius, and exhibited to English humanity, that heart must be callous indeed that could refuse its sympathy. I have seen the cow, the favourite cow, driven away, accompanied by the sighs, the tears, and the imprecations of a whole family, who were paddling after, through wet and dirt, to take their last affectionate farewell of this their only friend and benefactor at the pound gate. I have heard, with emotions which I can scarcely describe, deep curses repeated from village to village as the cavalcade proceeded. I have witnessed the group pass the demesne wall of the opulent grazier, whose numerous herds were cropping the most luxuriant pastures, whilst he was secure from any demand for the tithe of their food, looking on with the most unfeeling indifference.

But let us reverse the picture, and behold the effects which are produced by oppression, when the load becomes so insufferable as to extinguish every sentiment in the breast but a desire of revenge. I have beheld at night houses in flames, and for a moment supposed myself in a country exposed to the ravages of war, and suffering from the incursions of an enemy. On the following morning the most alarming accounts of Threshers and Whiteboys have met my ear, of men who had assembled with weapons of destruction, for the purpose of compelling persons to swear not to submit to the payment of these tithes. I have been informed of these oppressed people in the ebullition of their rage having murdered tithe proctors and collectors, wreaking their vengeance with every mark of the most savage barbarity. Cases of this kind are not rare in Ireland: they take place daily.[1]

Repeatedly had the crying evils of the tithe system been emphatically urged on the attention of the executive, but with no effect. Even the great influence and matchless eloquence of Grattan were of no avail. How beautiful and touching is the following language addressed by that illustrious patriot to the Irish House of Commons in 1788:—'The true principle with respect to your peasantry is exoneration, and if I could not

[1] Wakefield's 'Ireland,' vol. ii. p. 487.

take the burden entirely off their back I would make it as light as possible. I would exempt the peasant's cow and garden from tithe; if I could not make him rich I would do the next thing in my power; I would consider his poverty as sacred, and vindicate against an extortioner the hallowed circle of his little boundary.'

The processes for tithes at quarter sessions were numerous in every county for many years. I have before me a list of no less than 1,421 tried in five counties in the year 1807. They appear to have greatly increased in number as years went on, for we learn from the 'Galway Advertiser' of October 18, 1822, that 'at the quarter sessions at Gort one tithe-proctor processed 1,100 persons for tithes. They were all, or most, of the lower order of farmers or peasants. The expense of each process was about 8*s*.'

These proceedings entailed very heavy costs on the defendants. There was first a citation to the Bishop's Court, followed by a process in the Civil Bill Court, which made the expense so heavy on the poor peasant that he rarely resisted the claim a second time. Sir Henry Parnell instanced a case, in the House of Commons in 1820, in which a citation for 8*s*. 10*d*. tithe mulcted the defendant 2*l*. 10*s*. in costs.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

ERA OF IMPORTANT POLITICAL CHANGES IN IRELAND, COMMENCING ABOUT EIGHTY YEARS AGO—ASSERTION OF ITS INDEPENDENCE BY THE IRISH PARLIAMENT—POYNINGS' LAW—THE APPELLATE JURISDICTION OF THE IRISH HOUSE OF LORDS USURPED BY THE BRITISH HOUSE OF PEERS—APPEAL CAUSES FROM THE IRISH TO THE BRITISH PEERS—THE IRISH BARONS OF THE EXCHEQUER, IN THE LAST CASE, OBEY THE BRITISH HOUSE; ORDERED INTO THE CUSTODY OF THE BLACK ROD BY THE IRISH HOUSE—EXCITING CONTROVERSY—PASSING OF THE BRITISH ACT OF 1719, ANNIHILATING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT—WRITINGS OF MOLYNEUX, SWIFT, AND LUCAS—THEIR IMMENSE SALE AND EFFECT.

AN era of important political changes in Ireland commenced with the relaxation of the penal laws, about eighty years ago. The first of these was the assertion of its independence by the Irish Parliament. By Poynings' law, in the year 1495,[1] it was enacted that all measures to be passed by the Irish Parliament should first be submitted to and approved of by the king and his council in England, and if sent back altered by them could be passed in no other form than as so altered.

Notwithstanding this curtailment of the legislative powers of the Parliament of Ireland, a complete usurpation of those powers, as well as of the judicial rights and functions of the Irish House of Lords, was carried into effect by the Parliament of England in 1719. The following circumstances preluded this extraordinary state of affairs.

In 1698, the Irish House of Lords having decided an appeal case in favour of the Bishop of Derry against the Irish Society, or London companies in that county, the latter appealed from this decision to the English House of Lords, who declared that the appeal in Ireland was *coram non judice*, and therefore was null and void. In other words, they arrogated to themselves

[1] 10th Henry VII. c. 4, and 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary, c. 4. For Poynings' Law, see Appendix XVII.

the appellate jurisdiction in Irish causes which had ever been exercised by the Irish peers. The Irish House thereupon passed resolutions, asserting their rights and protesting against this unconstitutional invasion of them.

Again, in 1703, in the case of the Earl and Countess of Meath *versus* Lord Ward, the earl and countess, who had been dispossessed of their lands by an order of the English House of Lords, were reinstated by the Irish Peers, who repeated their resolutions and protest as above.

Next, in the same year, a cause respecting the ownership of an estate, between Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesley, was tried by the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, and judgment was given in favour of the latter; but, on appeal, that judgment was reversed by the Irish House of Lords. On this, Annesley appealed to the English Peers, who reversed the decision of the Irish House, and ordered him to be put in possession. Sherlock appealed against this decision to the Irish Peers, and they, feeling that the dignity of their House and the privileges of the nation were deeply involved, submitted to the consideration of the judges the question, whether an appeal lay from a decree of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland to the King and Parliament of Great Britain. The judges decided in the negative, and the peers resolved that they would assert their honour, jurisdiction, and privileges, by giving the petitioner Hester Sherlock effectual relief, pursuant to a former order. On this, the sheriff of Kildare put Sherlock in possession of the premises. But the Court of Exchequer, agreeably to an order of the British House of Lords, issued an injunction, commanding him to restore Annesley to the possession of the lands. This the sheriff refused to do, and was fined accordingly. He thereupon petitioned the Irish House, who passed a resolution approving his conduct, taking off the fines imposed on him, and declaring that the barons of the Exchequer 'had acted in violation of the orders of that House, in diminution of the king's prerogative, as also of the rights and privileges of the kingdom of Ireland and the

Parliament thereof. They then issued orders that the barons of the Exchequer—namely, Jeffrey Gilbert, Esq., John Pocklington, Esq., and Sir John St. Leger, should, for this offence, be taken into the custody of the Black Rod, which orders were forthwith executed.

The Irish Peers next drew up and submitted a dutiful address to the king, in vindication of their proceedings in this matter, and of the rights of the nation. This address was laid before the British House of Lords; but they, notwithstanding, persisted in the course they had adopted, and resolved that 'the barons of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland in their proceedings in the cause between Annesley and Sherlock, in obedience to their orders, had acted with courage according to law, in support of his Majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain; and that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to confer on them some mark of his royal favour, as a recompense for the injuries they had received, by being unjustly censured and illegally imprisoned for doing their duty.'

These resolutions passed, with only one dissentient.[1] The British Lords then initiated a bill 'for better securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain.'[2] Although strongly disapproved of by some members of the Commons, this Bill passed both Houses.[3]

It enacts that—

The kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon, the imperial crown of Great Britain, being inseparably united and annexed thereunto, and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes, of sufficient force and validity, to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland: and that the House of Lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or

[1] The Duke of Leeds.

[2] 6 George I. c. 5. A.D. 1719.

[3] The numbers on the division in the Commons were 140 to 83: majority for the bill 57.

reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

This law was enacted at a period when, as we have already seen, the nation was utterly prostrate and powerless to resist.[1] There was no choice but to submit.

Some years before had been published Mr. Molyneux's 'Case of Ireland,' asserting the rights of Ireland against the unjust and unconstitutional encroachments and usurpation of the English Parliament.[2] He was followed by Dean Swift, whose unrivalled pen was devoted to the same purpose, and by Dr. Charles Lucas, member for Dublin, and the author of several able political pamphlets. The British Parliament, unable to refute the arguments of Mr. Molyneux, ordered his book to be burned by the common hangman. This injudicious act only increased its popularity. Swift's Drapier's letters were hawked about the streets of Dublin at one penny each, and sold in countless thousands. Dr. Lucas's pamphlets enjoyed a like circulation.

These publications were read with avidity, and pondered on by the whole nation, from the peer to the peasant; and, although there were many points of difference, many elements of discord, many causes of mutual estrangement among the several classes, arising out of a vicious political system, the truths so forcibly enunciated by those gifted and patriotic writers went home to every heart, and making men, for the time, overlook the other wrongs under which they suffered, created a singular unanimity, a community of feeling, on the

[1] In an earlier page we have read Dean Swift's account of this period, in which he strongly protests against the two provisions of this Act, and the evils thereby entailed on the people of Ireland.

[2] The 'Case of Ireland' was written in 1698, as a protest against the order of the English peers in the cause of the Irish Society against the Bishop of Derry.

one common subject of the national rights and the national honour.

Both Houses of Parliament were leavened by the poison of bigotry and persecution, the result of centuries of misrule, it is true. They, or rather the great majority of both Houses, passed penal laws, to order, and excluded the Catholic population from all political and civil rights and privileges. They were, indeed, a subservient Parliament, the Commons being elected for the life-time of the monarch, and thus virtually irresponsible to their constituents.[1] However, the fire of patriotism was not altogether extinguished. Molyneux and Swift and Lucas had passed away, but their spirit survived.

[1] The Parliaments of England were made septennial in 1761, by the 1st of George I. chapter 38. Doctor Lucas brought in a Bill to the same purport for Ireland in the Irish Parliament on October 28, 1761, but it was thrown out by 108 to 43. Thenceforward the subject was much agitated by Lucas and other patriotic men; and in 1767 an Act was passed making the Parliaments of Ireland octennial, the alteration from seven years, as proposed in Ireland, having been made in England, and the Bill thus altered having been sent back to Ireland. This Act is the 7th of George III. c. 3. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. ix. p. 504.

CHAPTER LXXV.

STATE OF IRELAND AT THE PERIOD OF THE AMERICAN WAR—RESISTANCE TO TITHES; WHITEBOYS, LEVELLERS, AND HEARTS OF STEEL—DOMESTIC TROUBLES, AND DANGER OF FOREIGN INVASION; INABILITY OF GOVERNMENT TO AFFORD PROTECTION—THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS; THEIR ORGANIZATION AND DETERMINED ATTITUDE; THEY DEMAND FREE TRADE; THE DEMAND CONCEDED; THEY NEXT DEMAND AN INDEPENDENT LEGISLATURE—COMMENCEMENT OF THE GREAT CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT—HENRY GRATTAN; MOVES THE DECLARATION OF IRISH RIGHTS IN 1780; DEFEATED BY GOVERNMENT—MEETING OF THE DELEGATES OF ULSTER VOLUNTEERS AT DUNGANNON IN 1782; THEIR RESOLUTIONS—ELECTRICAL EFFECT OF THIS MEETING—THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS UNANIMOUSLY PASSED APRIL 16, 1782; UNRESERVEDLY CONCURRED IN BY THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT AND CONCEDED BY THE KING—INDEPENDENCE OF THE IRISH LEGISLATURE ACHIEVED.

THE struggle of the American colonies for independence had a great effect on the fortunes and on the sentiments of the people of Ireland at this period. The state of the country was far from satisfactory. Trade was still restricted, the public revenue was declining, and the peasantry were every day becoming more destitute and discontented.

The exaction of tithes and the enclosure of commons in various parts of the country were the prominent grievances. Great numbers used to assemble at night to level the enclosures and to war against the tithe system. They went by the name of Levellers and Whiteboys, the latter being so called from the white shirts they wore over their ordinary clothes. Others who banded together to resist high rents and the rapacity of the agents of absentee proprietors, and of the middlemen, were known by the appellation of Hearts of Steel. Instead of remedial measures, severe legislative enactments were resorted to by Government; and these had only the effect of further exasperating the people. In vain was the mistaken policy of such enactments pointed out to the executive. 'How painful must

it be to the dignitaries of the Church, the teachers of the Gospel, and, therefore, enemies to the shedding of blood,' said Mr. Grattan, 'to have thought themselves under the repeated necessity of applying to Parliament for sanguinary laws. The most sanguinary laws on your statute-books are tithe-bills: the Whiteboy Act is a tithe-bill, the Riot Act a tithe-bill.'

To suppress the Hearts of Steel, the legislature passed an Act that offenders should be tried in another county than that in which the offence was committed. This most unconstitutional measure defeated itself. Dublin juries were so disgusted with it that they acquitted the prisoners, and the Act was eventually repealed.

Meanwhile, France and America being fast allies, foreign invasion was apprehended. The landed gentry and commercial classes applied to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, for protection. His reply was, that Government had none to give. They resolved to protect themselves. Volunteer corps were formed in various parts of the country. The first noblemen and gentry of the land were enrolled. The Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Charlemont, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Flood, and other illustrious Irishmen headed the movement. The Volunteers armed and equipped themselves. After some time they applied for arms to Government, and received them. In 1780 they numbered 40,000 armed men. Representing so much of the influence and intelligence of the country, they had initiated an agitation for free trade, and had adopted resolutions to use no article of British manufacture. Their example was at once enthusiastically adopted by the whole country. Government, seriously alarmed by this movement, the defection of the American colonies, and the warlike attitude of France, granted free trade. This point gained, the next object proposed for attainment was a free legislature.

The heart of the nation now beat high. She felt her growing independence. In the words of Grattan, 'She went forth as a giant rejoicing in his strength.' She was filled with the con-

sciousness that now, by the union of her sons within the limits of the constitution, she might peacefully achieve the triumph of her rights. She had long suffered from cruel and impolitic trade restrictions. These, at her bidding, had been swept away. She next demanded a free legislature. This was going too far. The British Government could not concede this. For centuries they had toiled and striven to prevent it. They resisted, or rather attempted to evade, the demand. Then commenced that great constitutional struggle, in which right and justice triumphed for a time, but unfortunately that triumph was of short duration.

At this period, there had arisen in the Irish Parliament a band of men whose patriotism was equalled only by their genius, and whose noble characters and great public services shed a redeeming lustre on the dark pages of the nation's history. Foremost of these was Henry Grattan, 'Ireland's best and dearest son,' whose name will ever live enshrined in the heart's best affections of 'a not ungrateful country.'[1]

In briefly reviewing the history of this important and most interesting period, we must bear steadily in mind that the object of Mr. Grattan and his colleagues was not alone the freedom of trade and the independence of parliament, but the delivery of 3,000,000 of their fellow-countrymen from an intolerable weight of civil disabilities and persecution for conscience sake.

On April 19, 1780, Mr. Grattan arose in the Irish House of Commons to propose the celebrated Declaration of Irish rights.

After denouncing the 9th William III., which took away the woollen manufacture, and the 6th George I., which declared Ireland to be dependent, and subject to the laws to be enacted by the Parliament of England, he thus appealed to the pa-

[1] Henry Grattan. See Appendix XX. The statue of Grattan in the Corn Exchange, Dublin, bears the following inscription :—

FILIO OPTIMO CARISSIMO HENRICO GRATTAN,
PATRIA NON INGRATA.

triotism of the House, to undo the evil which their forefathers had done:—

You cannot dictate to those whose sense you are entrusted to represent; your ancestors, who sat within these walls, lost to Ireland trade and liberty; you, by the assistance of the people, have recovered trade, you still owe the kingdom liberty; she calls upon you to restore it.

The ground of public discontent seems to be, 'We have gotten commerce, but not freedom:' the same power which took away the export of woollens and the export of glass may take them away again; the repeal is partial, and the ground of repeal is upon a principle of expediency.

He next reminded them that the free trade they had obtained was

A trade *de facto*, not *de jure*, a license to trade under the parliament of England, not a free trade under the charters of Ireland, as a tribute to her strength; to maintain which, she must continue in a state of armed preparation, dreading the approach of a general peace, and attributing all she holds dear to the calamitous condition of the British interest in every quarter of the globe.[1]

After exhausting the subject, he continued (and who is there that will dissent from such sound constitutional doctrine so eloquently enforced?):—

With regard to this country, England must resort to the free principles of government, and must forget that legislative power which she has exercised to do mischief to herself; she must go back to freedom, which, as it is the foundation of her constitution, so is it the main pillar of her empire; it is not merely the connection of the crown, it is a constitutional annexation, an alliance of liberty, which is the true meaning and mystery of the sisterhood, and will make both countries one arm and one soul, replenishing from time to time, in their immortal

[1] What a lamentable want of statesmanship in the cabinet of England do not Mr. Grattan's remarks point to here! Unfortunately these remarks equally apply to centuries of British rule in Ireland. Even in our days the saying has been but too common, that 'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity.' We have now every reason to hope, with a great statesman at the head of affairs, that henceforward such axioms will be things of the past.

connection, the vital spirit of law and liberty from the lamp of each other's light; thus combined by the ties of common interest, equal trade and equal liberty, the constitution of both countries may become immortal, a new and milder empire may arise from the errors of the old, and the British nation assume once more her natural station—the head of mankind.

He then moved, 'That the king's most excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland.'

The strenuous efforts of Government to defeat this motion were successful. After a debate of fourteen hours, at half-past six in the morning the division took place, when there appeared for the motion 99, against it 133; majority against it, 34.

The friends of legislative independence were by no means disheartened. Their numbers and influence steadily increased. A sad necessity—a lamentable result of bad government—the reverses of England in America gave strength to their cause! Fortunately, too, a change of ministry took place. Lord North was replaced by the Marquis of Rockingham, as premier, with Mr. Fox in his cabinet.[1] The Duke of Portland was sent to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant. The Volunteers now numbered 80,000; and these 80,000 armed men were cordially sympathized with, and sustained by 3,000,000 of unarmed Irish Catholics.[2]

On February 15, 1782, took place the memorable meeting of the delegates of the Ulster Volunteers at Dungannon. These men, the representatives of 143 corps, numbering 25,000 soldiers, were generally persons of much consideration, selected for character and abilities, many of them of high rank and large fortune, some of them members of Parliament, and 'all of them actuated by one heart, filled with one spirit, and determined

[1] In March 1782.

[2] The numbers of the volunteers were subsequently largely increased. In many instances the Protestants cordially received Catholics into their ranks; and several Catholic gentlemen raised corps of their own persuasion.

upon one precedure.'[1] The meeting is thus described by a cotemporary, the able historian of the period, who served himself as a volunteer, and sat in the Irish Parliament for the cities of Tuam and Clogher:—

This celebrated meeting was conducted with a decorum, firmness, and discretion unknown to the popular meetings of other times and of other countries. Steady, silent, and determined, 200 delegated Volunteers, clothed with the uniform and armed with the arms of their respective regiments, marched, two and two, to the church of Dungannon, a place selected for the sanctity of its nature, to give the greater solemnity to this memorable proceeding.

The entrance of the delegates into that sacred place was succeeded by an awful silence, which pervaded the whole assembly; the glittering arms of 200 patriots, for the first time selected by their countrymen to proclaim the wrongs and grievances of the people, was in itself a scene so uncommon and so interesting, that many of those men, who were ready in a moment to shed the last drop of their blood in the cause of their country, as soldiers, were softened into tears, while contemplatively they surveyed that assembly, in which they were about to pledge themselves to measures irrevocably committing Ireland with her sister nation—the result of which must determine the future fate of themselves, their children, and their country.[2]

Twenty-one resolutions, which had been prepared by Lord Charlemont, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Flood, Mr. Stewart, M.P. for Tyrone, and Mr. Dobbs, barrister-at-law, were adopted and passed by the meeting. The following were the most essential:—

Resolved, that a claim of any body of men other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

Resolved, that the powers exercised by the Privy Council of both kingdoms, under, or under colour or pretence of the law of Poynings, are unconstitutional and a grievance.

Resolved, that a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional and a grievance.

---

[1] 'Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation,' p. 102. By Sir Jonah Barrington, LL.D. K.C.

[2] Ibid.

Resolved, that as men, and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

Resolved, that four members from each county of the province of Ulster (eleven to be a quorum) be, and hereby are appointed, a committee till next general meeting, to act for the Volunteer corps here represented, and as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province.

Resolved, that the said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other Volunteer associations in the other provinces, as may think proper to come to similar resolutions; and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.[1]

The effect of this meeting was electrical. One week after,[2] Mr. Grattan again moved a Declaration of Rights in the House of Commons, but the motion was premature, and Government again succeeded in defeating it.

Nothing daunted, he returned to the charge two months later;[3] and, accompanied and sustained by the sympathies and blessings of the whole nation, he moved, for the third time, a Declaration of Rights, as an amendment to the usual stereotyped address to the Throne, on the occasion of his Majesty's message to the House, signified through his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant. That memorable amendment was embodied in patriotic, loyal, and constitutional language. It moved an humble address to his Majesty, the main purport of which was:—

That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation except the king, lords and commons of Ireland; nor any other parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever in this country save only the parliament of Ireland. To assure His Majesty that we humbly conceive that in this right the very essence of our liberties exists; a right which we, on the part of all the people of

[1] These resolutions were subsequently adopted by nearly every volunteer corps in the kingdom.

[2] February 22, 1782.

[3] April 16, 1782.

Ireland, do claim as their birthright, and which we cannot yield but with our lives.

To assure his Majesty that we have seen with concern certain claims advanced by the parliament of Great Britain, in an Act entituled, 'An Act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland:' an Act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation. That we conceive this Act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom.

The address concluded as follows:—

That we have, moreover, a high sense and veneration for the British character, and do therefore conceive that the proceedings of this country, founded as they were in right, and tempered by duty, must have excited the approbation and esteem instead of wounding the pride of the British nation.

And we beg leave to assure his Majesty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, inasmuch as the people of this kingdom have never expressed a desire to share the freedom of England, without declaring a determination to share her fate likewise, standing and falling with the British nation.

Mr. Grattan's great oratorical effort on this great occasion, combined with all the circumstances, carried the House by storm. The amendment passed unanimously. Some of the leading members explained that they had voted against the Declaration of Rights on former occasions, because they then considered the motion improper and inadequate, but that now, as the nation was committed to obtain a restoration of her rights, every man should stand firm.

On May 27 following, the Lord-Lieutenant communicated his Majesty's reply, unconditionally complying with the demands of the House, and stating that the British legislature had concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of their discontents and jealousies, and were united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in their late addresses to the throne.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

RAPID AND WONDERFUL IMPROVEMENT OF IRELAND DURING THE SIXTEEN YEARS OF HER LEGISLATIVE INDEPENDENCE—THE PARLIAMENT BLIND TO ITS OWN INTERESTS IN NOT EMANCIPATING THE CATHOLICS—PARLIAMENTARY REFORM GENERALLY DEMANDED; CONVENTION OF THE VOLUNTEERS FOR THIS PURPOSE IN 1783—EXTRAORDINARY PROCEEDINGS IN THE CAPITAL; SIMULTANEOUS SITTINGS OF THE VOLUNTEER CONVENTION IN THE ROTUNDA, OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS IN COLLEGE GREEN, AND OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL IN DUBLIN CASTLE—LEGISLATIVE UNION OF THE TWO COUNTRIES RESOLVED ON BY GOVERNMENT—GOVERNMENT SUCCEEDS IN DISSOLVING THE CONVENTION OF VOLUNTEERS—REBELLION OF 1798; STRENGTHENED THE HANDS OF MINISTERS IN THEIR DESIGNS ON THE EXISTENCE OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT, AND THREW THE COUNTRY BACK A GENERATION—PASSING OF THE ACT OF UNION; FINAL DIVISION—ARTICLES OF THE UNION—QUESTIONABLE MEANS BY WHICH IT WAS PASSED.

THIS was the culminating point of Ireland's chequered fortunes. For the first time since the invasion of Henry II., she now enjoyed a free trade and a free parliament. In the sixteen years that followed, 1782 to 1798, the progress of the nation, as described by cotemporaries, was something wonderful. She rapidly rose in wealth, trade, manufactures, agriculture, every branch of industry. 'There is not a nation on the habitable globe,' wrote Lord Clare in 1798, 'which has advanced in cultivation and commerce, in agriculture and manufactures, with the same rapidity, in the same period.' All classes of the community, we are told, Protestant and Catholic, peer and peasant, rich and poor, were united by one bond of sympathy, one common sentiment of triumph, at the legislative independence of their common country.

But by a singular fatuity that parliament, whose independence had been so nobly vindicated and so gallantly won, appears to have been blind to its own interests, and unconscious of the high destiny it might have achieved. In the very first session of its

triumph it ought to have consolidated its independence, and rendered it unassailable for ever. Three millions of Irishmen still suffered under grievous civil and political disabilities. These it should have emancipated, and thus rallied round itself the interests, the gratitude, and affections of the nation. Urgently did Mr. Grattan, backed by a wise and enlightened minority, press this measure of justice and common policy on the House. But his warning voice was raised in vain.

At this time parliamentary reform was loudly called for. The House of Commons, though free, was not a fair representation of the country. Some years later[1] Mr. Grattan stated that of the 300 members 200 were the nominees of private individuals, from 40 to 50 were returned by constituencies of not more than ten persons each, several boroughs had not more than one resident elector, and 104, or over one-third of the members, were placemen and pensioners.[2]

The Irish Volunteers, now 150,000 strong, elected 300 delegates to hold a convention in Dublin, to call on Parliament to reform itself. The delegates, among whom were several members of both Houses, met in Dublin in November 1783. The scene enacted in the capital was singularly impressive. The enthusiasm of the people was boundless, but all was peaceable and orderly. Simultaneously the delegates sat in convention in the Rotunda, under the presidency of Lord Charlemont, the Lords and Commons held their deliberations in College Green, and the Privy Council sat in Dublin Castle.

Government were seriously alarmed. Since their defeat on the address in 1782, and the triumph of Irish legislative independence, they had been busily at work. Their plans were being carefully matured. The legislative union of the two countries was resolved on. *Delenda est Carthago.* The Irish parliament must cease to exist. This never could have occurred

[1] In 1793.

[2] Similar abuses, though not to the same extent, prevailed in the British House of Commons, down to the Reform Bill of 1832.

if the Irish parliament had been true to itself. But, as we have seen, that parliament had allowed its opportunity to go by unavailed of. The great bulk of the nation were still enslaved; and no parliament that deserves the name can long independently exist, unless its foundations are laid broad and deep in the interests and sympathies of a loyal, free, and contented people.

Several circumstances combined to favour the plans of Government. They first succeeded in detaching some of the leading delegates; they neutralized others; others, again, men of large property and high rank, they alarmed as to the risk of the proceedings in which they were engaged. The result was that the convention closed its session without effecting anything.

The propagandism of French principles in the country, the mistaken patriotism of some Protestant gentlemen of good position and great ability, the still miserable state of the peasantry, and the continued disabilities of the Catholic population, all conduced to the rebellion of 1798. Nothing could have strengthened the hands of ministers more in their designs on the existence of the Irish parliament than this ill-advised outbreak. It is unnecessary here to dwell on the details of this lamentable event of such recent occurrence. Besides, our subject is concerned only with its results. It threw the country back a generation, and sounded the knell of Irish legislative independence. How different would the case have been had the parliament of Ireland been true to its mission, and had the struggle (if such were not rendered unnecessary by the action of a free and enlightened parliament) taken place within the limits of the constitution.

The final division on the Act of Union was taken on February 6, 1800, in the parliament house, College Green, now occupied by the Bank of Ireland. There voted for the union 158 members, against 115.[1] The details had been settled by the

[1] Twenty-seven members were absent, the total number of the members of the House being three hundred.

British Parliament. At the close of the year the two separate Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland were dissolved, and a proclamation was issued for an Imperial Parliament to assemble in January, 1801.

The Articles of the Union, eight in number, are:—

1. The permanent union of the two kingdoms into one, under the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

2. The succession to the throne to continue as at present limited.

3. The kingdom to be represented by one Parliament, to be called the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

4. Twenty-eight peers temporal elected for life, and four spiritual peers, succeeding each other by a rotation of sessions, were admitted into the House of Lords; one hundred representatives—two for each county, two for Dublin City, two for Cork City and one each for thirty-one towns and the University, were to be elected into the Lower House.[1]

5. The churches of England and Ireland were to be united into one, to be called the United Church of England and Ireland, the doctrine, worship, and discipline of which was to be the same as that established for the Church of England.

6. The subjects of Great Britain and Ireland were to be placed on the same footing as to manufactures, trade, and commerce.

7. The contribution of each portion of the empire towards the general expenditure was to be in the proportion of 15 to 2 between Great Britain and Ireland for twenty years; after which, to be regulated at the discretion of Parliament.

8. The existing laws and courts of justice in each island were to continue as heretofore, except that appeals from the Irish

[1] Five additional members of the House of Commons were given to Ireland by the Reform Bill of 1832.

Chancery were to be brought before the House of Lords in England.

The style of the king was changed to that of King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the blazoning of the royal standard was altered accordingly.

Very questionable means were resorted to by ministers, to carry the Act of Union. The supporters of the measure received peerages, baronetcies, places, pensions, and large sums of money, liberally dispensed. The Parliament which passed the Act voted 1,400,000*l.* for the purposes of the Act. The greater part of this large sum was paid as compensation to the proprietors of eighty-three boroughs. Those also who lost office by the passing of the Act were compensated. The statute under which these arrangements were carried out received the royal assent on August 1, 1800.[1]

CHAPTER LXXVII.

HOPES OF THE CATHOLICS FROM THE ACT OF UNION DISAPPOINTED—DANIEL O'CONNELL—THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION; THE CATHOLIC RENT—THE CLARE ELECTION; O'CONNELL RETURNED; REFUSES TO TAKE THE PROTESTANT OATH AT THE BAR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS; INTENSE EXCITEMENT; CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION CARRIED.

ALTHOUGH great hopes had been held out to the oppressed Catholics from the Act of Union, among the rest by Mr. Pitt, who had promised them, in 1799, that their emancipation would immediately result from it,—their position was by no means improved by the passing of that Act. In 1803, on the question of Emancipation being mooted, it was announced, for the first time, that 'the king had insuperable objections to the measure.' Notwithstanding this discouragement, the Catholic committee incessantly laboured in the cause of civil and religious freedom.

[1] 40th of George III. chapter 34. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. xx. 376.

Fortunately for their success, a man arose, in every way worthy to assume the leadership of the movement. This was Daniel O'Connell, a young, but already distinguished member of the Bar, whose entrance into public life had been marked by an eloquent protest against the extinction of the Irish Parliament.[1] A man of commanding ability, powerful eloquence, rare acumen developed by his profession, legal experience, which enabled him to pilot the agitation clear of the shoals and quicksands of the law, endowed by nature with the physique and voice and bearing of a tribune of the people, he combined with all these qualities the great essential of an undying love of country. He was to vast popular assemblies what Mr. Grattan was to the Senate. The one achieved the legislative independence of his country—an existence of but short duration, for, in his own touching language, he 'sat by its cradle, and followed its hearse.' The other struck the fetters off the limbs of millions of his fellow subjects in Great Britain and Ireland. Each had a mission to fulfil, and nobly fulfilled it; and the names of both will go down together with honour to posterity, as the two greatest Irishmen that ever lived.

In 1823, O'Connell, ably seconded by Richard Lalor Shiel, established the Catholic Association. Its leading principles were, that it should 'strictly adhere to the letter of any law that had been or might be enacted in order to stifle the expression of the sentiments of the Catholics, and that it should admit as members the great bulk of the people.' Every Catholic was called on to subscribe one penny a month to defray the expenses of the Association, to aid the peasantry in particular cases of hardship and oppression, and to circulate a newspaper for the promotion of the Catholic cause. This small subscription, within the means of all, constituted membership; and the 'Catholic Rent,' as it was called, became in the aggregate a very considerable amount.

[1] Daniel O'Connell. See Appendix XXI.

On the death of Mr. Canning, in 1827, his ministry was dissolved, and the Duke of Wellington was called to office. Immediately on his accession to power, the Catholic Association adopted a resolution, to pledge all candidates for parliamentary honours to oppose the new administration, which was unfavourable to the Catholic claims. This was intended for the next general election; but an earlier occasion unexpectedly occurred. In 1828, Mr. Vesey Fitz-Gerald, having accepted a seat in the Cabinet, offered himself for re-election to the county of Clare. He was opposed by O'Connell, who was triumphantly returned by the votes of the peasantry, marshalled by their priests, against the combined forces of the landlords.

On proceeding to take his seat, Mr. O'Connell was tendered the usual oath at the bar of the House. That oath was tantamount to a solemn abjuration of his creed, and a declaration, before God and man, that the most sacred tenets and practices of that creed were superstitious and idolatrous. He indignantly rejected it. The public excitement, not confined to Catholics, but largely participated in by enlightened Protestants, great as it was before, now became so intensified, and the agitation in Ireland so general, so active, and so determined, that Ministers were obliged to yield, and the Catholic Relief Bill was passed, admitting Catholics to Parliament, and extending to them other privileges previously denied them.[1]

[1] A.D. 1829.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

HOW THE FORTY-SHILLING FREEHOLDERS USED TO VOTE BEFORE THE CLARE ELECTION OF 1828—EFFECT OF THE CLARE ELECTION, AND THE PROVISIONS OF THE CATHOLIC RELIEF ACT OF 1829, ON THE LAND-LETTING SYSTEM OF IRELAND; DISCONTINUANCE OF LEASES, AND SUBSTITUTION OF TENANCY-AT-WILL—INTERFERENCE OF THE CLERGY IN POLITICS IN IRELAND—STRONG CLAIMS OF THE PRIESTS ON THE CONFIDENCE AND AFFECTION OF THEIR FLOCKS—OTHER CONCESSIONS TO CATHOLICS—THE MUNICIPAL REFORM ACT—RIGHT REVEREND DOCTOR DOYLE'S EVIDENCE ON THE TITHE QUESTION IN 1832; GENERAL RESISTANCE TO TITHES; FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTION BY THE ACT OF 1838.

Up to this time leases were the general rule. The forty-shilling freeholders had been created, to an inconceivable extent, by the landlords, who valued highly the political importance derived from a large following of voters. The qualification of a freeholder was a clear forty shillings' interest for a life, and it was customary in Ireland to insert lives in all leases.[1] Mr. Wakefield tells us that, in 1810, he knew freeholders, registered among mountain tenantry, whose yearly head-rent did not exceed 2*s.* 6*d.*, but who, living on this half-crown tenure, were able to swear to a derivative interest of forty-shillings per annum. This right, instead of being an advantage to the freeholder, was an excessive burden, as he was obliged to attend elections at the command of the agent, often at great inconvenience, and was ordered to vote for the object of his landlord's choice, with as little ceremony as the Jamaica planter would direct his slave to the performance of the meanest offices.[2]

From this we can easily understand that before the memorable Clare election of 1828, politically, the Irish peasant had no will of his own. His exercise of the franchise, conferred upon him by the Act of 1793, was a mere farce. At the

[1] A freehold, in English law, is that land or tenement which is held in fee-simple, fee-tail, or for term of life.

[2] Wakefield's 'Ireland,' vol. ii.

protracted county elections, the forty-shilling freeholders were driven in like sheep to the poll; and they polled under the direction of the agent, just as the soldiers of a regiment obey the word of command of their colonel. They voted all for the candidate adopted by their landlord, and it was a matter of course that they should do so.

In the early part of this century, at an election of the county of Cork, then a matter of some weeks' duration, as all the votes were polled at the county court-house, within the city, it is related of the numerous tenantry of the Kingston estates, who bivouacked in tents on the Grand Parade, that some of them going up to the poll, when asked for whom they voted, replied 'For my Lady Kingston,'—the will of the great lady, from whom they held their little patches of land, predominating in the minds of these poor cottiers, to the exclusion of all recollection of the candidate whom she supported!

The result of the Clare election filled the landlords of Ireland with dismay. Now, for the first time, their tenantry had dared to record their votes against them. There were unmistakable symptoms, too, that this spirit of insubordination would become general. They took their measures accordingly, and determined to grant no more leases, as the possession of leases made their tenants comparatively independent.

The forty-shilling freeholders had been abolished by the Catholic Relief Act of 1829. Therefore, in any case, leases to small occupiers might be dispensed with, as they would confer no political importance on the landlords. The qualification for the franchise was now raised to 10*l.*, and the policy manifestly was, to discontinue the granting of leases to all occupiers of 10*l.* or over, who would be likely to use the franchise against them, if secure against eviction by the possession of a lease.

Thus it was that, gradually, as lives dropped, or terms of years expired, the system of leases, formerly universally encouraged, gave way to the present system of tenancy-at-will. This obviously was a change for the worse, economically, socially, and

politically. By diminishing or rather abolishing security of tenure, it seriously impeded the development of the agricultural resources of the country; it made the tiller of the soil the victim, if he refused to be any longer the serf, of his landlord; and it ran directly counter to the leading principle of the representative system of these kingdoms, by making it a necessity with the majority of the people, that they should go to the hustings to vote as machines, and not as men.

All these circumstances tended to widen the breach, already too wide, subsisting between the proprietor and the tiller of the soil. The priests, as was their duty, took part with, and became the advisers and leaders of their flocks, often exerting their influence most beneficially to protect the poor voter who ventured to exercise his privilege at the hustings according to conscience.

Loud has been the outcry from time to time against 'priestly agitation,' but those who make the outcry appear to have lost sight of the exceptional circumstances of the country, which render such interference necessary. Doubtless in isolated cases the clergy have sometimes expressed themselves over strongly in periods of political excitement; but, having regard to all they have witnessed of tyranny and persecution inflicted on their flocks—and I may allude to these matters now as they belong to the past—it must be admitted that on the whole the priests of Ireland, as a class, have, under the most trying circumstances, borne themselves with remarkable moderation and prudence. Invested with a sacred character ever revered by the people, leading a life of celibacy, and set apart from the world and its affairs to devote himself exclusively to the best interests of his flock, ever ready to instruct, to advise, and console, beside the fever bed, in the workhouse ward, in the prison cell, in the wretched cellar or garret of the town, or the lonely mountain hut, wherever he is needed, the Irish priest is always sure to be found.[1] Is it not natural, then, that the

[1] I could reckon up a long list of priests, within the circle of my own acquaintance, in the diocese of Cork, carried off—many of them in the flower

people—and they have a rare intelligence, an unerring instinct in such matters—should, in the hour of doubt and difficulty, turn to him as their best friend and implicitly follow his counsel? None, I am sure, rejoice more than the priests themselves that the action of Mr. Gladstone's administration promises to relieve them from the necessity of interfering in public affairs as the leaders of the people. Heretofore, until a very recent period, their interference has been not only a necessity, but an imperative duty.

The Emancipation Act was followed by other concessions to the Irish Catholics. By the Municipal Reform Act in 1840 they were admitted to corporations of cities and towns, from which they had been by statute previously excluded. But the principal, because the most necessary and beneficial measure, was the settlement of the tithe question. We have already seen what were the evils inflicted on the poor cottiers by the tithe system in the early part of the century. That those evils remained still unabated for many years later will be seen by the following extracts from the evidence of the Right Reverend Doctor Doyle, the gifted Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, before Mr. Stanley's committee in 1832. In preparing his evidence, the bishop requested three of his parish priests, in whose parishes the opposition to tithes had commenced, to furnish him with information as to the causes of that opposition, but he enjoined on them to be careful that no account should be transmitted to him except such as could be, if necessary, afterwards confirmed on oath.

Cecilia Farrell, an old woman of Upper Seshen, holds three roods—no rent claimed by the landlord these thirty years, in consequence of her great poverty, and the age and infirmity of her father, and a poor sister, an idiot, who lived with her. The landlord wrote to the parson stating the case of poor Cecilia; notwithstanding, the parson claimed,

---

of their age—by contagion, caught at the bedsides of the sick poor members of their congregations.

in 1829, tithe for the five previous years, amount 8*s.* 11½*d.* To meet the demand, poor Cecilia was obliged to take to the market and sell her hens and chickens, and hand the amount of them over to the parson.

Michael Neil, of Ballynagole, sued for tithe March 17, 1830; his only cow distrained, also his bed, bed covering, two boxes, a chest and dresser, cupboard, about ten chairs, two tables, and several pots; the door-case torn out in order to make a passage for the dresser. Neil is a very poor man, having a wife and six children.

Mary McDonald, of Old Leighlin, in 1830, owed a tithe charge of 2*l.*; offered 1*l.*, all the money she had at the time; refused; her cow distrained, kept in pound four days under heavy snow. A crowd collected to break open the pound; the cow liberated upon bail; hurlings soon afterwards in the neighbourhood; no warrants of distress executed since.

About this time the resistance to tithes became general. The Tithe Composition Act was passed, but this did not meet the difficulty, for it merely altered the mode of collecting, without relieving the peasantry from the direct incidence of the tax. Many serious breaches of the peace, attended with loss of life, took place, the final adjustment of the matter could no longer be deferred, and an Act[1] was passed in 1838, abolishing compositions for tithe, and substituting fixed payments or rent charges, consisting of three-fourths of their amount, *and to be paid by the landlords or others having a perpetual interest in the land.*

As leases dropped, and the landlords became liable for the payment of tithe, they were able to recoup themselves in their new arrangements by charging the tenant an increased rent equal to the amount of the tithe rent-charge. Thus, virtually, the tenants still paid the tax, but they were no longer oppressed and irritated by the exactions of the parson or the proctor.

[1] The first and 2nd Victoria, chap. 109.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

THE CONDITION OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE FROM 1829 TO 1846; NO IMPROVEMENT; THE LABOURER WORSE OFF THAN IN THE DAYS OF ARTHUR YOUNG; WANT OF A MIDDLE CLASS; THIS WANT, TO A GREAT EXTENT, CAUSED BY ABSENTEEISM—EXTENT AND DEGREE OF DESTITUTION IN IRELAND BEFORE THE FAMINE YEARS—THE POTATO BLIGHT, AND FAILURE OF OAT CROP, IN 1846—DIRECT LOSS TO THE COUNTRY OF 16,000,000*l.*; THE POOR LAW INTRODUCED IN 1838; ITS EXPANSION TO MEET THE FAMINE CRISIS—GOVERNMENT EXERTIONS TO MEET THE CALAMITY; INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL BENEVOLENCE—EMBARRASSMENTS OF THE LANDLORDS; EVICTIONS; EMIGRATION.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this so far judicious legislation, from which the middle classes of the Catholics derived considerable advantages, the condition of the great majority of the people, except in as far as they were relieved from the direct incidence of tithes, was by no means improved.

As already observed, the cottier of 1846 was worse off than the cottier in the days of Arthur Young, some seventy years before. In 1846 the peasant had not the supply of milk for his family which every cottier appears to have had formerly,[1] and with the increase of population the quality of the potato, too frequently grown in a patch of bog or other poor undrained land, had become very much deteriorated. Numbers of the people subsisted on a wet, soapy, but most prolific variety of tuber, called 'lumpers,' and even of these they had but too scanty a supply. Under the system of tenancy-at-will agriculture was very backward.[2] Bad as the drainage of the country is now, it was even worse then. On the whole, the land did not produce one half of what it might.[3] With the middlemen still in existence, rents were excessively high, so that an unduly large proportion of the gross produce was distributed

[1] See Arthur Young, *passim*.
[2] Devon Commission, already quoted.
[3] Mr. Blacker, and other authorities, already quoted.

in rent. The profits on capital were necessarily very small, and wages had actually gone below the natural rate, for numbers were carried off every year by famine fever. Add to this, the landlords as a class were very poor, owing, to some extent, to the low productive industry of the country, but still more to their own and their predecessors' imprudence and extravagance. Indeed, in many cases they were not so much to blame themselves, for they had inherited their properties irretrievably embarrassed. Except the graziers, a few large farmers, and the traders in cities and towns, there was no middle class, that class which is the backbone of a nation, the owners of capital, and dispensers of the wages of labour.[1] In Great Britain, France, Belgium, and other well-ordered countries this class abounds; and it is the duty, as it is the interest, of the rulers of all countries, by wise and judicious legislation to remove all bars to its existence and prosperity.

In Ireland, those who ought naturally to constitute this class were, by the anomalous state of society, educated to a life of idleness and dissipation; and moreover they were tempted, in the absence of the aristocracy, to endeavour to occupy their empty places in the social scale. This is one of the evils of absenteeism, which I do not remember to have seen anywhere noticed; but it was a serious evil, by which men of slender means were tempted to assume a position and style of living far above their rank and beyond their fortunes; and consequently those who ought to have been engaged in some useful commercial or professional employment, or agricultural occupation, thus supporting themselves respectably and adding in their accumulations to the general wealth, were mere drones, leading lives of stilted gentility, drawing largely on the industry of others for their support, and impoverishing the country. These

[1] As already observed, the small farmer, in some instances, combines, in his own person, the functions of capitalist and labourer, and in others those of landlord, capitalist and labourer, as in countries of peasant proprietors.

men are thus graphically described by Doctor Crump at the commencement of the century.[1]

The general characteristics of the class of society I speak of are dissipation, idleness, and vanity: every man with a few acres of land and a moderate revenue, is dignified, as a matter of course, with the title of Esquire; and be his family ever so numerous, or the incumbrances on his little patrimony ever so great, he must support a pack of hounds, entertain with claret, or, if not able, with whisky, keep a chaise and livery servants, and in short ape his superiors in every respect. Meanwhile his debts are increasing, his creditors growing clamorous, and every industrious occupation which might relieve his distresses neglected, as utterly beneath the dignity of a gentleman. The numerous instances of this which occur cannot fail to have a very serious and powerful influence in the obstruction of national industry and employment.

The country towns of Ireland were filled with men of this class. The professional beggars, too, were very numerous. In those days, the stranger visiting Ireland was forcibly struck by the numbers of idle persons he beheld on every side.[2]

As regards the extent of destitution, before the famine years, the Report of the Commissioners on the Irish poor stated that they had ascertained that more than one-fourth of the population, over two millions of persons, in Ireland were in such a state of poverty as generally to stand in need of parochial assistance.

This statement is borne out by the Report of the Land Occupation Commissioners in 1845, in the following words:—

A reference to the evidence of most of the witnesses will show that the agricultural labourer of Ireland continues to suffer the greatest privations and hardships; that he continues to depend upon casual and precarious employment for subsistence; that he is still badly housed, badly fed, badly clothed, and badly paid for his labour. Our personal experience and observation during our inquiry have afforded us a melancholy confirmation of these statements; and we cannot forbear expressing our strong sense of the patient endurance which the labouring

[1] Essay on providing Employment for the People, p. 179.
[2] Wakefield, vol. ii. 808.

classes have generally exhibited, under sufferings greater, we believe, than the people of any other country in Europe have to sustain.[1]

The average rate of wages at this time was only 8*d.* per day, and employment was only casual. The small farmer, a very numerous class, stood in almost the same category, as regards the necessaries of life, as the agricultural labourer.

In adverting to the condition of the different classes of occupiers in Ireland, we perceive with deep regret the state of the cottiers and labourers in most parts of the country from want of certain employment. It would be impossible to describe adequately the privations which they and their families almost habitually and patiently endure. It will be seen in the evidence that in many districts their only food is the potato, their only beverage water; that their cabins are seldom a protection against the weather; that a bed or a blanket is a rare luxury; and that nearly in all, their pig and their manure heap constitute their only property.[2]

Such was the state of Ireland up to the year 1846. Then a fatal and mysterious blight fell upon the people's food; hundreds of thousands of victims were swept off the face of the land, the middlemen disappeared, and the whole framework of society was changed.

The potato crop in the early part of the year appeared most flourishing. The weather was favourable. The wheat promised well. In a word, every one anticipated a good season, when suddenly the principal crop was blighted, almost all in one night; the leaves withered, the stalks became black and brittle, emitting a most disagreeable smell, and the tubers either ceased to grow, or, where matured, rapidly decayed. The oat crop too was a failure.[3]

[1] Report, 1845, No. XIX. [2] Ibid.

[3] There had from time to time been partial failures of the potato crop, for instance in 1845. But these were nothing compared with the blight of 1846. The following account of that visitation, by Captain Mann, R.N., then stationed in the county of Clare, will be read with interest: 'The early culture of 1846 was in no way improved: a great proportion of the land was again tilled with potatoes, under the expectation that, as in former years, the late

The Government estimate of the loss thus entailed on the country was 16,000,000*l.*—viz., 11,350,000*l.* in potatoes, and 4,660,000*l.* in oats.[1]

This large sum of money, thus suddenly abstracted from the poorest nation in Europe, is by no means an adequate measure of the loss entailed on the country. It was not merely a loss of so much oats and potatoes; for vast tracts of potato land lay idle, and the capital of the farmers had to be consumed to procure the necessaries of life. A sum of 2,000,000*l.* of deposits were immediately withdrawn from the banks and expended on food;[2] and the live stock were sold in great numbers for the same purpose.[3] Then the poor rates absorbed almost the whole

scarcity would be followed by a bountiful supply. The first alarm was in the latter part of July, when the potatoes showed symptoms of the previous year's disease; but I shall never forget the change in one week in August. On the first occasion, on an official visit of inspection, I had passed over thirty-two miles thickly studded with potato fields in full bloom. The next time the face of the whole country was changed; the stalk remained bright green, but the leaves were all scorched black. It was the work of a night. Distress and fear were pictured in every countenance, and there was a general rush to dig and sell, or consume the crop by feeding pigs and cattle, fearing in a short time they would prove unfit for any use. Consequently there was a very wasteful expenditure, and distress showed itself much earlier than in the preceding season.

[1] Speech of the Marquis of Lansdowne:—'He would commence his statement—and they would be among the very few figures with which he would trouble them—with an account which was as accurate as the best calculation could make it, of the loss in money value that had been occasioned by the late failure of the crops in Ireland. Taking a valuation of 10*l.* per acre for potatoes, and 3*l.* 10*s.* for oats, the deficiency on the potato crop alone amounted to 11,350,000*l.*, while on the crop of oats it amounted to 4,660,000*l.*, or to a total value of 16,000,000*l.*, for the whole of a country which, if it could not be said to be the poorest, was certainly not one of the richest in the world. In weight, the loss was between 9,000,000 and 10,000,000 tons of potatoes. The whole loss had been equivalent to the absolute destruction of 1,500,000 arable acres.'—*The Times*, January 16, 1847.

[2] Deposits in Irish Banks—

1846 . .	£8,442,133	1847 . .	£6,493,124

[3] I cannot give the exact numbers of live stock, as the Government enumeration commenced only in 1847.

produce of the country. For two years, as a rule, no rent was paid.

The poor-law had come into operation in 1838,[1] the workhouses being first open for the reception of paupers in 1840. But the existing poor-law was quite inadequate to meet the emergency, and the Out-door Relief Act was passed in June 1847.[2]

Its expansion will be seen in the following figures:—

Year	No. of Unions	No. of Paupers relieved in Workhouse	No. of Paupers relieved out of Workhouse	Total Numbers Relieved	Total Expenditure
1846	129	250,822	„	250,822	£436,505
1847	130	417,139	„	417,139	803,686
1848	131	610,463	1,433,042	2,043,505	1,835,634
1849	131	932,284	1,210,482	2,142,766	2,177,651
1850	163	805,702	368,565	1,174,267	1,430,108

From 1850 the numbers and amount gradually decreased, standing as follows, in 1859, the lowest year, and 1867, respectively:—

1859	163	153,706	5,425	159,131	£413,712
1867	163	258,650	58,696	317,346	676,776

The exertions of Government to meet this great calamity were not confined to the extension of the poor-law, but operated through two relief commissions and the Board of Works. Immense sums of money were expended in public works, chiefly in making roads, the main object being to relieve the labouring classes by reproductive employment.

Individual, or rather national, benevolence was exercised on a large scale. The people of England, ever foremost on such occasions, contributed munificently. America, too, came nobly to the rescue, sending several of her ships of war, disburdened of their guns, freighted with food for the starving people. France, Belgium, Holland, other Continental countries, and our remote colonies, all contributed; the Holy Father also sent his

[1] Irish Poor Relief Act, 1st and 2nd Victoria, c. 56 (July 31, 1838).
[2] Irish Poor Relief Extension Act, 10th Victoria, c. 31 (June 8, 1847).

contribution, and issued an Encyclical letter to the bishops of the Catholic Church throughout the world to call on their flocks to succour the sufferers in Ireland.

At home, all classes and creeds were united in the common work of charity. The Protestant clergyman, the Dissenting minister, the Catholic priest, and the laity of all persuasions, worked zealously together on the several committees everywhere formed. The excellent Society of Friends are deserving of special mention. By their admirable system and well-directed zeal, and the large funds transmitted to them from England and America, they were able to effect much for the relief of the sufferers. Though last, not least, the poor Irish emigrants across the Atlantic did not forget their friends at home. Notwithstanding all these exertions to stay the plague, the population was all but decimated.

The landlords, previously heavily embarrassed—with poor rates in some unions over 20*s.* in the pound on the valuation, and no rents paid, and with multitudes of poor starving people squatting on their lands—became utterly bewildered. Great numbers of evictions followed. The existing workhouses being wholly insufficient, several of the deserted mansions of the gentry were converted into auxiliary workhouses; and, moreover, the pauperism of the rural districts naturally tended to throw its helpless masses into the large towns, where, at least, they were sure of temporary aid. Thus many lives were saved. Finally, emigration on a large scale was available to carry off numbers. This emigration I have treated of in detail in another chapter.

CHAPTER LXXX.

THE POOR FIRST AFFECTED BY THE POTATO FAILURE; GRADUALLY, IN THEIR TURN, ALL OTHER CLASSES; THE MIDDLE INTERESTS UNIVERSALLY SWEPT AWAY; MANY OF THE HEAD LANDLORDS ALSO SUCCUMBED—THE INCUMBERED ESTATES COURT—ITS STATISTICS; ITS ADVANTAGES; ACCOMPANIED, IN SOME INSTANCES, BY GREAT HARDSHIPS—THE CLEARING SYSTEM; AGRARIAN OUTRAGE; FACTS DEMANDING THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF OUR LEGISLATORS.

THE effects of the potato blight commencing with the labouring population, gradually rose, and, in due time, reached every class of the community. The middle interests in lands were universally swept away, and, in several instances, the head landlords themselves succumbed. With their heavy embarrassments, it could not have been otherwise.

These embarrassments and their results are accurately detailed in the following extract from a well-informed writer:—

In 1843, three years prior to the potato failure, 1,002 estates, representing a rental of 702,822*l.*, or about one-twentieth of the nominal rent of the country, were under receivers of the courts of equity, four-fifths of whom were attorneys, generally resident in Dublin, unacquainted with the wants of an agricultural population, and unsympathizing with their pursuits. During subsequent years the number of estates thrown into Chancery has been nearly doubled; costs and incumbrances have increased tenfold, and arrears of rent in a still higher ratio, while the state of the law respecting the sale and transfer of landed property (as administered by the Court of Chancery) not only prevented land from becoming a marketable commodity, but aggravated by dilatory and expensive proceedings the evils it professed to remedy. The annuitant neither received his annual stipend, nor the mortgagee his interest, and the puisne incumbrancer not only lost the amount of his claim, but frequently also the costs incurred to recover it. Again the social evils entailed by this miserable state of things were even more ruinous in their effects: the industrial links between the agricultural classes were completely shattered. The owner was only nominal, or at best an unpaid pensioner, on his own estate; and tenants, holding on the uncertain tenure of leases pending the continuance of a suit, lost

all confidence and forecast, and declined to spend capital on their farms. *In many districts rents were totally absorbed by taxation; production almost ceased, and the soil rapidly deteriorated in value. Ireland, in 1846 and 1847, was in fact one huge poor-law union, under the administration of legal relief and imperial charity.*[1]

To meet this state of affairs the Incumbered Estates Act was passed in 1849.[2] Under this Act, a royal commission was issued, and three commissioners were appointed by the crown 'for the sale of incumbered estates in Ireland.' The court was constituted a Court of Record, with powers to form rules to regulate its proceedings, those rules to be subject to the approval of the Privy Council.

The sittings of the commission commenced in October 1849, and the first sale took place on January 21, 1850. The gross amount produced by sales, from October 1849 to August 1859, was 25,190,839*l.* Of this sum the court distributed 24,229,027*l.* to creditors up to August 1859, the remaining 961,809*l.* for unadjusted claims being subsequently distributed. In 1858 an Act was passed extending the powers of the Incumbered Estates Court to properties unincumbered. By this Act the judges and officers of the Incumbered Estates Court were transferred to a new court called 'The Landed Estates Court,' which commenced its sittings on November 1, 1858.[3]

One great advantage of the Incumbered Estates Act was that it transferred a large proportion of the landed property of the country from the hands of needy proprietors to the possession of men of means. Over 1,500,000*l.* a year thus changed owners.

Another advantage was that it freed the land from the weight of mortgages and settlements, the growth of generations,

[1] 'Observations on the People, the Land and the Law in 1851, with special reference to the Policy, Practice, and Results of the Incumbered Estates Court.' By M. Locke.

[2] The 12th and 13th Victoria, c. 77. An Act passed for this purpose, the previous year, was found to be inoperative, owing to its defective construction. (11th and 12th Vict. c. 48.)

[3] Thom's 'Statistics.'

by which it was oppressed, not unfrequently beyond its actual value. Another advantage, and this was a strong inducement to purchase, was that it gave the purchaser a clear parliamentary title, thus precluding all those complicated and expensive legal proceedings which formerly surrounded the landed property of Ireland.

Much hardship necessarily accompanied the operation of the Act. In the great panic, especially at the commencement, several properties were sacrificed. This was much to be regretted, but, under the circumstances, it could not be helped. Some estates sold for ten or twelve years' purchase, which are now worth double the money. The result was the later mortgagees were, in many instances, altogether thrown out, and several ancient proprietors who, at present prices, would have saved a large portion of their inheritance, were irretrievably ruined.[1]

From this time forward the 'clearing system' and the consolidation of farms were steadily and systematically carried out.[2] Some proprietors aided their tenants to emigrate; others, probably from want of means, were not so considerate; others, again, were guilty of acts of harshness and cruelty. In most cases the people quietly submitted; but in some, unfortunately, they were betrayed by their feelings into fearful acts of agrarian outrage.

It is well worthy of the consideration of our legislators that the only serious crimes in Ireland are the appalling murders connected with the land system; that no instance of such outrages is known in Great Britain, France, Belgium, or any other civilized country; and, further, that the impunity with which the murderer generally escapes gives grounds to suppose that he is, to a great extent, sympathized with by the peasantry.

All this, too, is a result and a sign of that to which, in the

[1] Among those, in this and adjoining counties, were some whose properties were grants to their ancestors, made by Elizabeth out of the estates of the Earl of Desmond.

[2] The particulars will be found in another page. See Chapter xlvii.

course of this work, it has been my painful duty to refer more than once—the antagonism of classes in Ireland—that want of sympathy, that mutual distrust and, too frequently, hostility subsisting between the owners and tillers of the soil. What other result than such antagonism could be expected from that lamentable misgovernment of centuries, of which the leading principle was 'Divide and rule'? This principle, as we have seen, was openly avowed in the reign of Elizabeth. It dictated the policy of subsequent reigns down to the final Settlement, when the whole body of the Irishry and the great majority of the Anglo-Irish, or descendants of the first settlers, were so subdued and broken, landless and penniless, and of so little consequence politically, that the sowing of dissensions was considered to be no longer necessary.

Then, there was carried out for many generations an unrelenting system of confiscation, persecution, and oppression of the bulk of the people, under which all civil rights were denied them, and their religion was universally proscribed. To carry this system in effect, the favoured class, the new landed proprietors created under the several confiscations, were the fitting instruments. The system was not of their devising it is true, but it was devised by a government whose instruments they were; and in the midst of that system they were born, and were educated, and lived and moved and had their being. Naturally, its spirit and its practice, transmitted from father to son, thoroughly imbued their natures and moulded their characters. Under these circumstances, it is not a matter of surprise that their relations with, and bearing towards, the peasantry around them should have been such as are described by cotemporary writers.

Happily, with the advance of the age, the whole framework of society has very much improved. Among the descendants of these men are some excellent landlords. Many of them, the victims of the system of which their ancestors were the instruments, have been impoverished, owing to the low productive

industry of the country and the former extravagance of their class, both directly resulting from that system. Many have succumbed. Hence the great majority of those who are the landed proprietors of the country have not the means to discharge the duties of property, however well inclined they may be. Some, indeed, are compelled by their necessities to act unreasonably, harshly, and, in some instances, unjustly, to their tenants. All are more or less estranged from the population who till their lands; and there certainly does not subsist between them and their tenantry that thorough sympathy and good feeling, that cordial co-operation for mutual good, which characterize the corresponding classes in England and other countries.

Thus it is, in every instance, we must go back upon history to trace the first causes of the evils of Ireland.

The first great remedial measure, the disestablishment of the Church of the minority, I propose to treat of in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN IRELAND—ITS BISHOPRICS AND THEIR REVENUES PREVIOUS TO 1834; THE SAME SINCE 1834—ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS—NUMBERS OF BISHOPS, CHURCHES, LIVINGS, AND CLERGY—ANNUAL REVENUE OF THE CHURCH—REVENUE OF TRINITY COLLEGE—NUMBERS OF THE PRINCIPAL RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN IRELAND—THE PRESBYTERIANS AND THE REGIUM DONUM—THE CATHOLICS AND THE MAYNOOTH GRANT—REMARKS ON THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT; OPINIONS OF FOREIGNERS THEREON—THE OPERATION OF THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE AMONG THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND; ITS RESULTS.

In former chapters we have reviewed the means employed to establish the Protestant religion in Ireland. We have seen how, at the Reformation, under Henry VIII., all the churches and the Church property and revenues were transferred from the Catholics to the new creed, notwithstanding that the bulk of the

nation preferred adhering to the religion of their forefathers. We have seen how, for three centuries, all that could be done by pains and penalties, confiscation of property, and civil disabilities, was done to convert the people; and we have further seen that they endured all rather than abandon the ancient faith. Few nations have presented so striking an instance of noble self-denial and sacrifice of worldly interests to conscientious conviction; and I have no doubt that this heroism will be admired and thoroughly appreciated by my English Protestant readers, who are happily of a race that ever prominently advocated the cause of civil and religious freedom. It becomes the more entitled to admiration the more we examine into the resources and the results of the system to which it stood opposed—that unexampled propagandism of religion, extending over three hundred years, and backed by immense revenues, state influence, and penal enactments, all brought to bear upon the poorest, and, politically, the most helpless nation in the world.

Let us now see what were those resources, and what those results.

Previously to the year 1834 there were in Ireland four archbishops and eighteen bishops of the Established Church, these latter holding twenty-nine bishoprics, viz.:—

	Revenues
ULSTER.	
* Armagh[1]	£17,670
Meath and Clonmacnoise	5,220
Clogher	10,371
* Down and Connor	5,896
Derry	14,193
Raphoe	5,787
Kilmore	7,478
Dromore	4,813
LEINSTER.	
* Dublin and Glendelagh	£9,321
Kildare	6,452
Ossory	3,859
Ferns and Leighlin	6,550

[1] Those marked * are the Archbishoprics.

MUNSTER.

	Revenues
*Cashel and Emly[1]	£7,354
Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe	5,369
Waterford and Lismore	4,323
Cork and Ross	4,346
Cloyne	5,009
Killaloe and Kilfenora	4,041

CONNAUGHT.

*Tuam and Ardagh	£8,206
Elphin	7,034
Clonfert and Kilmacduagh	3,621
Killala and Achonry	4,082
Total Income	£150,995

By the Church Temporalities Act (Ireland), 3rd and 4th William IV., chapter 37, A.D. 1834, the Archbishoprics of Cashel and Tuam were reduced to bishoprics, and the eighteen bishoprics, as vacancies occurred, were by amalgamation reduced to ten, which made the total two archbishops and ten bishops.

The following were the classification of the bishoprics, and their incomes, under this Act:—

NORTHERN PROVINCE (ARMAGH).

	Incomes under the Act	Former Incomes
*Armagh with Clogher	£12,087	£28,041
Meath and Clonmacnoise	4,068	5,220
Derry and Raphoe	8,000	19,980
Down, Connor, and Dromore	4,204	10,709
Kilmore, Ardagh, and Elphin	6,253	14,512
Tuam, Killala, and Achonry	4,600	12,288
Total	£39,212	£90,750

SOUTHERN PROVINCE (DUBLIN).

*Dublin, Glendelagh, and Kildare	£7,786	£15,773
Ossory, Leighlin, and Ferns	4,200	10,409
Cashel, Emly, Waterford, and Lismore	5,000	11,677
Cork, Cloyne, and Ross	2,498	9,355
Killaloe, Kilfenora, Clonfert, and Kilmacduagh	3,870	7,662
Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe	4,973	5,369
Total	£28,327	£60,245
Total of all Ireland	£67,539	£150,995

[1] Those marked * are the Archbishoprics.

The revenues of the suppressed bishoprics, together with those of dignities and benefices suspended by orders of Council, and disappropriated tithes, were by the Church Temporalities Act vested in the Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners, created under the Act. The Commissioners also received an *ad valorem* tax, imposed on all bishoprics, dignities, and benefices exceeding 300*l.*, and the proceeds of the purchase money received for the conversion of leasehold interests of Church estates into perpetuities.

This fund was appropriated to 'discharging the expenses of the Commissioners' establishment, providing Church requisites, payment of parish clerks, sextons, and organists, building and repairing churches, and for some special charges, such as salaries to the curates of Dublin parishes. Any surplus that might remain, after answering these demands, was intended to be applied in augmenting small benefices and curacies. An additional charge was, however, afterwards thrown upon the fund, namely, the payment to the parochial clergy in certain cities of incomes equivalent to those which they had previously received from a tax on houses and tenements, known as ministers' money, which, by the Act 20th and 21st Victoria, chapter 8, was abolished.'[1]

Ministers' money, a most obnoxious tax to those of other persuasions compelled to pay it, amounted to something over 15,000*l.* a year.[2]

The Commissioners held also Primate Boulter's fund, amounting to 89,000*l.* of Government stock, and Primate Robinson's,

[1] Thom's 'Statistics.'

[2] Ministers' money was levied under 17th and 18th Car. II. c. 7. This Act was repealed in 1854, by the 17th and 18th Victoria, chapter 11, by which houses rated at or under 10*l.* were exempted from the tax, which was then made chargeable on all houses valued over that sum. The sums certified, as chargeable in each town were, in 1853:—Clonmel, 341*l.*; Cork, 3,324*l.*; Drogheda, 288*l.*; Dublin, 9,868*l.*; Kilkenny, 307*l.*; Kinsale, 74*l.*; Limerick, 310*l.*; Waterford, 940*l.*: total, 15,452*l.* In 1857 the tax was abolished.

985*l.* consols, and other private endowments, making 4,240*l.* more of Government stock, the annual proceeds of all which were applied to the augmentation of small benefices.

The number of bishoprics, as above specified, was twelve; the number of churches, 1,551; of livings, 1,510; of clergy, 2,172.

The total net revenue of the Church, including the value of houses and lands in occupation, was 613,984*l.*, as set forth in the following table, compiled from the Commissioners' report, laid before her Majesty on July 27, 1868:—[1]

Persons or Corporations entitled to receive	Sources of Revenue				Value of Houses & Lands in Occupation
	From Lands let to Tenants	From Tithe-rent Charge	From other Sources	Total	
	£	£	£	£	£
Bishoprics	73,592	576	356	74,524	3,716
Deans and Chapters	3,669	6,939	141	10,749	292
Minor Corporations	5,374	4,648	154	10,176	—
Cathedral Dignitaries	5,894	4,714	40	10,648	—
Beneficed Clergy	62,165	329,088	3,928	395,181	28,144
Ecclesiastical Commissioners	54,239	18,260	8,055	80,554	—
	204,933	364,225	12,674	581,832	32,152
Total Net Annual Revenue & Value of Houses and Lands of the Established Church				£613,984[2]	

Besides this, there is a revenue of 38,000*l.* a year, the rental of estates granted by Queen Elizabeth and James I. to Trinity College. Like many other anomalies in Ireland, the constitution of the so-called national university being exclusively Protestant, it is virtually the university of only a small section of the population.[3]

The following are the numbers of the principal religious de-

[1] A Royal Commission on the revenues and condition of the Established Church of Ireland, issued October 30, 1867.

[2] Thom's 'Statistics.' In introducing the Church Bill, Mr. Gladstone dissented from this return of the total net revenue of the Church as too low, and stated it to be, at the lowest, 700,000*l.*

[3] Trinity College. See Appendix XXII.

nominations in Ireland, as given by the Census Commissioners of 1861 :—

Profession	1861	
	Numbers	Per Cent.
Established Church . .	693,357	11·9
Roman Catholics . . .	4,505,265	77·7
Presbyterians . . .	523,291	9·0
Protestant Dissenters . .	76,661	1·4
Jews	393	—
Total . . .	5,798,967	100

The Presbyterians of Ireland have been in the receipt of an annual grant from Government of about 40,000*l.* This was called the Regium Donum, or royal gift. It was first granted in 1672 by Charles II., who gave 600*l.* of 'secret service money' to be distributed annually in equal portions among the Presbyterian ministers. This grant in 1869 amounted to 40,547*l.*

The Roman Catholics of Ireland received from Government, for the support of the Royal College of Maynooth, established for the education of priests, an annual grant of between 8,000*l.* and 9,000*l.* a year, from 1795 to 1845, when it was raised to 26,360*l.* per annum. A sum of 30,000*l.* was then vested in the Board of Public Works for the enlargement of the buildings of the college.

From the above figures, it appears that the members of the Established Church have been receiving annually 17*s.* 8*d.* per head; the Presbyterians, 1*s.* 6½*d.*; and the Catholics, from 1795 to 1845, ½*d.*, and since then 1½*d.*, for the purposes of religious worship. The exact figures will be found in the following synopsis:—

Denomination	Numbers in 1861	Revenue from Public Money £	Revenue from Public Money per head
Established Church .	693,357 .	613,984 .	17*s.* 8*d.*
Presbyterians . .	523,291 .	40,547 .	1*s.* 6½*d.*
Roman Catholics . .	4,505,265 .	26,360 .	1½*d.*

These figures speak for themselves. The contrast they present

renders all comment unnecessary. But it may be said, and it has often been said, that the greater part of the revenue of the Established Church came out of the pockets of the Protestant landlords. Such is not the case. I have shown that on the change of the law taking place, in 1838, the landlords naturally looked to their own interests, and imposed on the tenants, as leases fell in, an increase of rent equivalent to the tithe rent charge, thenceforward payable by landlords.[1]

But the mere statement of the amount of money paid is no adequate measure of such a grievance. Ireland is mainly a Catholic country; and here we have the results of the three hundred years' operation of this great State engine of proselytism—namely, that notwithstanding the thinning of their ranks by famine and emigration, more than 77 per cent. of the people are still Catholic; whereas the proportion of the favoured creed is less than 12 per cent. Such being the proportions, the Catholic cultivator has nevertheless had to raise every year, in the sweat of his brow, the amount of that tax, which was a first charge on the tillage of the country. It came from his labour and capital; for in Ireland it is not only the labour but the capital, both fixed and floating, of the cultivator that makes the rent of land, the profit of capital, the wages of labour, rates for local requirements, and taxes to support the State, and has heretofore furnished tithes for the maintenance of the Church, as by law established.

It is but natural that 4,500,000 Catholics should have had strong objections to maintain the Church of a minority of not one-sixth of their number—a Church of which they did not require the ministry, and which in their minds was ever associated with the persecution and oppression of their ancestors and the infliction of grievous civil disabilities on themselves.

No such anomaly ever existed out of Ireland. What would the Protestants of England think if there was question of their

[1] Chapter lxxviii.

maintaining the Catholic religion—the creed of a small minority of the population—as the State Church in England? Would they willingly pay over to Archbishop Manning and the other Catholic prelates the whole of the tithes, or the tenth part of the agricultural produce of the kingdom, and throw their own churches altogether on the voluntary system; and would they be the less unwilling to do this, if the creed they were called on to support had the same antecedents in England as the Established Church had in Ireland?

Not to confine ourselves to those nearer home—all intelligent foreigners who have written on the Irish question have been loud in their condemnation of the Establishment in Ireland. They pronounce it to be our monster evil, and to it they mainly attribute the antagonism of classes and the generally backward state of the country.[1]

Here we must not overlook the fact that Ireland, notwithstanding her poverty, has effected, and continues to effect, wonders for the maintenance of her own Church on the voluntary principle. In all parts of the country the tourist will notice beautiful churches, convents, schools, seminaries, and other institutions, either erected at a comparatively recent period or in course of erection. And it is right to mention that, generally speaking, the greater part of the cost of these buildings is defrayed by the pence of the poor—the sum raised in penny collections among the working classes being considerably over one-half the total amount. The estimated expenditure on such works since 1800 is 5,690,995*l.*, and the estimated annual expenditure of the Catholics of Ireland, for the maintenance of their bishops, clergy, secular and regular, and their religious institutions, is 762,030*l.*[2]

[1] This was especially the opinion of Monsieur de Beaumont and Count Cavour. Cavour's 'Thoughts on Ireland,' first published about twenty years ago, has lately been republished, in a translation, by Trübner & Co., and will repay perusal.

[2] 'The Church Establishment in Ireland,' the 'Freeman's Journal Church Commission,' p. 387. Dublin, 1868. In this Commission, so ably carried

CHAPTER LXXXII.

REMEDIAL MEASURES FOR IRELAND—THE CHURCH ACT; ITS PROVISIONS; LIFE INTERESTS PRESERVED; COMMUTATION—TOTAL CAPITALIZED VALUE OF THE CHURCH PROPERTY; ITS PROPOSED DISTRIBUTION—FEELING OF THE CATHOLICS ON THE PASSING OF THE ACT—THE CLERGY OF THE NOW DISESTABLISHED CHURCH DESERVEDLY ESTEEMED AND RESPECTED BY ALL DENOMINATIONS.

We now come to the remedial measures for Ireland. The year 1869 will ever be memorable as the commencement of a new era of legislation for this most important part of the United Kingdom. That year is marked by the passing of the 'Act to put an end to the Establishment of the Church of Ireland, and to make provision in respect of the temporalities thereof.'[1]

By this measure, it is enacted that on and after January 1, 1871, the legislative union of the Churches of England and Ireland shall be dissolved, the said Church of Ireland shall cease to be established by law, ecclesiastical and cathedral corporations shall be dissolved, the bishops shall cease to sit in the House of Lords, and ecclesiastical courts and jurisdiction, and ecclesiastical law, except as relating to matrimonial causes and matters, shall be abolished.

Three commissioners are appointed under the Act, with full powers for its execution.[2] All the property vested in the late ecclesiastical commissioners was transferred to these commissioners on the passing of the Act; and, on January 1, 1871, all Church property is to vest in them, tithe rentcharge absolutely, the rest subject to life interests.

out, and that too at so seasonable a time, and in the valuable work embodying its results the 'Freeman's Journal' has rendered good service to Ireland, and to the cause of civil and religious freedom.

[1] 32nd and 33rd Victoria, c. 42 (July 26, 1869).

[2] The Commissioners are Viscount Monck, Mr. Justice Lawson, and Mr. G. A. Hamilton.

One leading principle of the Act is, that all life interests shall be respected; and, therefore, when the transfer of all ecclesiastical property to the Commissioners will have taken place, an ecclesiastical person will receive from the Commissioners, in lieu of tithe rentcharge, an annuity until he commutes; but he will retain his beneficial ownership in houses, lands, farms, &c., unless and until he commutes. Commutation is optional with each person.

By commutation is meant the capitalization of any annuity, and of the value of any life interest in ecclesiastical property reserved by the Act to any ecclesiastical person; and payment of the capital sum calculated at 3½ per cent. to the Church body, charged with the payment of the yearly income in respect of which such capitalization has been made.[1]

The Church body relies on private subscriptions by its members to enable it to pay the full life annuities on commutation being made.

No application can be made for commutation until after January 1, 1871.

The Commissioners, at any time between January 1, 1871, and January 1, 1873, but not afterwards, if it appears to them, as respects any diocese, that not less than three-fourths of the whole number of ecclesiastical persons therein have commuted or agreed to commute their life interests, are to pay to the Church body an additional sum of 12 per cent. on the commutation money payable in respect of each life interest.

All churches in actual use at the passing of the Act, and schools attached to said churches, are, on the application of the Church Representative Body, to be vested in that body. The application must be made within six months after January 1, 1871.

Life interests in glebe houses are preserved. All other ecclesiastical buildings vest in the Commissioners.

[1] 'The Irish Church Act, with introductory statement,' p. 20. By William G. Brooke, M.A., barrister-at-law.

The Presbyterians are to receive fourteen times the annual amount of the Regium Donum and of other Parliamentary grants, and a further sum of 15,000*l.* in respect of the building of their new college in Belfast. The total sum payable to them will be about 700,000*l.*

The trustees of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth are to receive fourteen times their annual grant; and 20,000*l.* due by them to the Board of Works are remitted. The total received by them will be about 400,000*l.*

It is calculated that the total capitalized value of all the Church property is 16,000,000*l.*[1] The life interests of incumbents of all kinds, bishops, dignitaries, and the parochial clergy, are estimated as worth 4,900,000*l.* Lay compensations for advowsons, and to clerks, officers of ecclesiastical courts, abolished by the Act, and others, are set down at 900,000*l.* The charges for private endowments are stated at 500,000*l.* Compensation to the Presbyterians for the Regium Donum and to the Catholics for the Maynooth Grant, are calculated at 1,100,000*l.* These, with building debts and other charges, will absorb between 8,000,000*l.* and 9,000,000*l.*, and will leave about 7,000,000*l.* at the disposal of Parliament 'for the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering, yet not so as to cancel or impair the obligations now attached to property under the Acts for the relief of the poor.' This contemplates the application of the surplus to the maintenance of lunatic asylums, county hospitals not under the poor law, reformatories, and other similar institutions.

In the general rejoicing at the passing of this Act, the Catholics of Ireland have not, in a single instance, indulged in any

[1] Tithe rent-charge, 22½ years' purchase . . . £9,000,000
Episcopal lands, chapter lands, lands belonging to dignitaries, the glebe land in occupation and let to tenants, and the value of perpetuity rents, valued at 6,250,000
Money in Government Stocks, &c. 750,000
£16,000,000

expression of feeling that could be construed into an unbecoming tone of triumph over their Protestant fellow-countrymen. Far from blaming the Protestant clergy and laity of the present day for the errors and persecution of the past, they know that, generally speaking, the course formerly pursued was one that would meet their strongest disapproval. It is now to be hoped that, the sole cause of difference being removed, the professors of all creeds, standing on an equality, will live harmoniously together as fellow-subjects and fellow-Christians.

As regards the clergy of the now disestablished Church, they are, as a class, deservedly esteemed and respected by all denominations. Educated gentlemen, kindly neighbours, good family men, good citizens, and most exemplary in their lives and the discharge of the duties of their profession, they have, in these relations, done all that could be done towards neutralizing what was objectionable in the ascendency of a small minority. That their life interests have been so carefully guarded, and that so large and liberal a provision has been made for the future Church representative body in Mr. Gladstone's Bill must be a cause of general satisfaction to the country.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

BRIEF REVIEW OF THE AGRICULTURAL CONDITION OF IRELAND; BUT LITTLE IMPROVEMENT THE LAST TWENTY YEARS; MR. CAIRD'S EVIDENCE TO THIS EFFECT; DECREASED GROWTH OF CEREALS—STRANGE THEORY THAT STATE INTERFERENCE IN THE LAND ARRANGEMENTS OF IRELAND WOULD BE A CONTRAVENTION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY; ITS FALLACY DEMONSTRATED—A COMPLETE CHANGE IN THE LAND ARRANGEMENTS OF IRELAND DEMANDED BY PUBLIC POLICY; CIRCUMSTANCES FAVOURABLY COMBINING TO RENDER THAT CHANGE NOW PRACTICABLE; STATESMANSHIP OF MR. GLADSTONE; ENLIGHTENED VIEWS OF MR. BRIGHT; POWER OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, RESULTING FROM PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—THE PRINCIPAL REMEDIAL MEASURES PROPOSED ON THE LAND QUESTION: FIRST, MASTER FITZGIBBON'S PROPOSAL; SECOND, A LAW OF COMPENSATION FOR UNEXHAUSTED IMPROVEMENTS; THIRD, LEGALIZING AND EXTENDING ALL OVER IRELAND THE TENANT-RIGHT OF ULSTER; FOURTH, MR. CAIRD'S PROPOSALS; A MODE SUGGESTED OF INDIRECTLY OBLIGING LANDLORDS TO GRANT LEASES; IMPORTANT OPINION OF AN EXTENSIVE LAND AGENT ON IRISH LEASES; FIFTH, REMEDY PROPOSED, FIXITY OF TENURE, WITH A PERIODICAL ADJUSTMENT OF RENT—IMPORTANCE OF THE END TO BE ATTAINED—THE GREAT OBJECT, SECURITY OF TENURE—600,000 FARMERS, SECURE IN THEIR HOLDINGS, A POWERFUL GARRISON IN THE COUNTRY—VOTE BY BALLOT—ABOLITION OF THE LAW OF DISTRESS—THE GRADUAL CREATION OF A PEASANT PROPRIETARY—MR. BRIGHT'S PROPOSAL—CONCLUSION.

We have now seen that Ireland has certainly made some progress in manufacturing industry during the last six or seven years. We have also seen that the wages of labour have increased, and that, on the whole, the condition of the working classes has considerably improved; but this is owing to continuous emigration, and not to any increase of agricultural industry. We have further seen, by the deposits in the banks and other tests, that the farmers are better off than they were, which is mainly the result of three or four successive years of good harvests and high prices. But, on the other hand, having regard to reliable Government returns, and looking around at the general aspect of the country, we must come to the conclusion that, on the whole, the actual state of Ireland is far from satis-

factory—that is, whether viewed in relation with her resources, or compared with other countries, her economic condition is very much below what it ought to be. When, in addition to this, we take into account the still continuous outflow of the population—'the young and vigorous leaving our shores'—a circumstance which is already most seriously affecting the labour supply of the country, the prospects before us are by no means reassuring. This naturally leads us to the consideration of the all-absorbing topic of the day, now that the Church has been disposed of,—the settlement of the land question.

This question will immediately engage the serious attention of Parliament, and there is evidently a disposition on the part of Ministers and the people of England to bring it, as soon as possible, to a satisfactory conclusion.

In former chapters we have fully reviewed the whole state of the land question. We have seen how the landlords generally, blind to their own interests, withhold that security of tenure which would insure a large increase of agricultural produce, with most beneficial results to themselves, the farmers, the labourers, and the whole community. We have seen how the great majority of the farmers of Ireland are tenants-at-will, and how consequently the country, with rare exceptions, is undrained and badly cultivated, and the land does not produce more than one-half of what it ought. Did we entertain any doubts whatever on these points, those doubts would be dissipated by the following evidence of an eminently competent authority:—

I visited (says Mr. Caird) the worst and most distressed, and also some of the best districts of Ireland in 1849, immediately after the famine, and on recently traversing nearly the same tract, after an interval of twenty years, I cannot say that its agriculture presented much evidence of general improvement. The people are better clothed, better housed, and better fed, not because the produce of the ground has been materially increased, but because it has become of more value, and is divided among two-thirds of the numbers who shared it then. Most of the wet land is still undrained. The broken, worn, and gapped fences remain too much as before. Except in Ulster and

the eastern seaboard of the country, there is little appearance of any investment of capital in cultivation. What the ground will yield from year to year at the least cost of time, labour, and money, is taken from it. The change consequent on the diminution of the population has been followed by an equivalent decrease of the area under corn, and the substitution of live stock in the same proportion.[1] The produce is thus more secure, and obtained at less cost, and being divided among a smaller number of people, they have each a larger share. But there is little spirit or enterprise, and scarcely a sign over a large portion of Ireland of that immense stride which has marked the progress of agriculture in England and Scotland during the same period. The Irish farmer is proverbial for thrift, even to penury, in his family expenditure, but his savings, instead of being used to increase the productiveness of his land, are locked up in the bank, and help to swell the twenty millions of deposits in the Irish banks. There is no confidence between classes; people are living from hand to mouth, landlords drawing their rents with the least outlay in their power, and tenants tilling their land after the same pattern. To this general rule there are, of course, many exceptions. There are landlords in Ireland as exemplary in all their duties to their estates as in England, and tenants with equal readiness and ability to adopt and carry out the most improved systems of husbandry. But the exceptions only bring into darker contrast the common rule.[2]

With such corroborative evidence as this, what other conclusion can we arrive at than that whatever can be effected by

[1] I have already given the increase in cattle and sheep, and the decrease in root crops, p. 125. I now subjoin the area under cereals in the same years, showing the decrease above referred to.

Cereals	1851	1861	1866	1867	1868	1869
	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres
Wheat .	504,248	401,243	299,190	261,034	285,150	281,117
Oats . .	2,189,775	1,999,160	1,699,695	1,660,511	1,701,645	1,684,788
Barley .	282,617	198,955	150,293	171,001	186,318	220,909
Bere and Rye .	73,044	11,582	10,021	9,602	9,906	11,199
Beans and Pease .	49,717	14,017	14,834	13,552	9,960	9,957
Total . . .	3,099,401	2,624,957	2,174,033	2,115,700	2,192,979	2,207,970

[2] 'The Irish Land Question.' By James Caird. Second edition, p. 19. Longmans, 1869.

judicious legislation ought to be done, and that promptly, to induce the free application of labour and capital to the soil of Ireland?

For a long time, unfortunately for the interests of Ireland and the empire, a strange theory has prevailed in high places—that State interference in the land arrangements of Ireland would be a contravention of the principles of political economy. Nay, even still this opinion prevails, and those who hold it assent to interference only because, they say, Ireland's case is exceptional, and requires exceptional treatment. They argue as follows:—A small dealer buys from a merchant, a draper purchases from a manufacturer, a trader has money dealings with his banker—and the State does not step in and interfere in these several transactions, but leaves traffic wholly free and unrestricted. Why, then, should the State interfere between the owner of land and the man who wishes to buy the use of it—why should it meddle between landlord and tenant? This is, by no means, a correct statement of the question. Such interference is not required in the last case any more than in the other three. We must distinguish between particular interference and general regulation. For example, are there not certain general principles embodied in common and statute law for the regulation of trade and business matters? Is there not, for instance, a statute of limitations? Again, does not the law already interfere, generally, in land arrangements? Does it not give the landlord a power of distress? Does it not impose the whole of the county cess on the tenant, and does it not divide the poor rate equally between landlord and tenant?

There is a wide difference between interference in particular private transactions, and carrying out into practical effect certain general principles. Without any meddling in individual cases of buying and selling, such principles may justly be embodied in legislative enactments; and this is the more necessary for dealings in land, that the loan or continuous use of land, for a certain term, differs very much from the purchase of corn, or

cloth, or sugar, which, once bought, belongs to the purchaser for ever, and there is an end of the transaction.

For many long years have extreme poverty and discontent been the prominent characteristics of the social condition of Ireland, mainly because there existed bars to the three great requisites of production—land, labour, and capital—being freely brought into combination in the country. Surely it was the duty of a wise and paternal Government, who alone could do it, to remove those bars to productive industry, and their doing so would have been only in accordance with the principles of political economy. All governments perform duties analogous to this, in devising and upholding a system of jurisprudence, in appointing and paying judges and other ministers of justice, in organizing a police force, and in equipping and maintaining armies and fleets, to protect property, and re-assure industry, which, without such safeguards, would cease to exist.

It is therefore obvious that a great deal can be done by legislation, in the Irish Land Question, without at all contravening the principles of political economy.

Besides, a complete change in the land arrangements of Ireland is demanded by every consideration of public policy. That change heretofore was impossible; but now many circumstances favourably combine to render it practicable. A statesman, in the true sense of the word, is now at the head of affairs—one fully equal to the occasion, of whom it cannot be said, as it could have been predicated of many of his predecessors, that

> Born for the universe, he narrowed his mind,
> And to party gave up what was meant for mankind.

In his Cabinet are men of tried ability and experience and deserved weight with the community. Among these especially is one who, far in advance of his time, has for many years urged with his commanding eloquence, and all but unlimited influence, those measures of simple justice to Ireland which are now being carried out; and, as it was with the Church Bill of last session,

so, when a good Land Bill will have been enacted, Ireland will in no small degree be indebted for the boon to the enlightened views and persevering advocacy of Mr. Bright.

But, above all, the people of England now possess a power which they did not possess before the days of complete Parliamentary Reform; inasmuch as the extension of the basis of the franchise has transferred the government of these kingdoms from the hands of a few of the great families to the elected representatives of the nation. Therefore we may confidently hope that, not alone as regards that most difficult of all questions, the land, but on every question affecting her interests, Ireland will henceforward enjoy the blessings of good government and wise legislation. But we must not expect everything from legislation. The functions of Government and the Legislature in the matters of which we are now treating are, as we have seen, to remove all bars to productive industry, and to consult, as far as in them lies, for the welfare, material and moral, of all classes of the population. From circumstances not altogether within the control of individual statesmen, and among these especially the constitution of a parliament not resting on a sufficiently popular basis, these functions heretofore, particularly as regards Ireland, have been but very inadequately fulfilled. Now matters are very different; the way has been cleared, and Government and the Legislature appear fully impressed with the importance of the crisis, and, in the conduct of the last session, have given an earnest of their disposition to perform their parts. That the people of Ireland will fulfil theirs, that they will act in the same spirit as their rulers, that they will jealously maintain peace and order, without which remedial measures cannot be carried out and industrial progress insured, and thus cordially co-operate with Mr. Gladstone's or any other ministry disposed to do them full justice, there is every reason to hope.

But Ireland must not expect to make a sudden bound from poverty to wealth, from depression to prosperity. We have seen

how the conversion of the barren sands of Belgium into the richest of soils, and the perfection of agriculture attained in that country, are the growth of many generations.[1] That growth is mainly the result of the patient, peaceful industry of the people and their security of enjoying the fruits of their labour. Such promises to be the future of Ireland. Many of us may not live to see that future realized, but, with the enactment of a good Land Bill, we shall all have the satisfaction of seeing the country placed in a position to work out her prosperity, in fully developing her industrial resources.

Let us now consider the principal remedial measures which, up to the present time, have been suggested on the Irish land question.

In considering these several remedies, it is necessary we should bear in mind what has been written in an early chapter, as to why God gave man the land, as to property in land differing from other property, as to land being practically limited in quantity, and as to the great importance to the rapidly growing population that every rood of arable land in the British Islands should be turned to the best account.[2]

The first is the remedy suggested by Master Fitz Gibbon, who has written most ably on the land difficulty.

He puts the case of a tenant who has squatted upon, or in some way got possession of, ten or twenty acres of barren bog or mountain, free of rent. This poor man erects a hovel to shelter his half-starved family, and by unaided labour in after hours, as he is obliged to work for wages to buy food, gradually improves the land and grows crops upon it. In each succeeding year his condition is better and easier than in that which preceded, until the year arrives in which he is forced to pay rent. Up to this time he has been working for himself, and his course is clear and simple. 'Now that the half-yearly visit of the driver is to be provided for; now that an advance in the rent is not to be

[1] Supra, p. 132. [2] Supra, p. 213.

provoked, or the alternative notice to quit encouraged, further effort is paralysed, and further improvement must be carefully avoided. Leave him as he is, subject to the power of his landlord, and he transmits to his children the misery which he endures himself; and the landlord transmits to his heir the paltry rent which a humane man would not think worth the painful process of extorting from the wretch who pays it.'

It is proposed that a law be enacted by which the tenant, in such a case as this, shall be entitled to transmit to a certain public officer a written notice stating his intention, within the next three years, to increase by certain specified improvements the annual and marketable value of his house and land by one-fourth or some other substantial fraction, or (it may be) multiple of its present value, estimated by the rent which he pays. No formality to be required. The notice, written by any neighbour if the man cannot write himself, and forwarded under a penny postage stamp, to set forth the nature and particulars of the proposed improvement, as above, and its probable amount. On receipt of this notice, a public officer (call him an Inspector of Works) to be sent down to inspect the farm and report whether the specified improvements are such as the tenant should have liberty to make, and, having made them, should be entitled to a certain term of years at the present rent. A copy of this report, and of the tenant's notice, to be transmitted in a registered letter to the landlord, informing him that any just objections shall be attended to, if made before a specified time. If no valid objection shall be made, the tenant to receive a certificate entitling him to commence and prosecute his improvements, the conditions being that he commences before a certain day, and does the work to the satisfaction of the inspector until completed, and also pays his rent each half-year before the next falls due. The landlord to have the right to serve a written notice of default; and if default be made, the inspector to report that the certificate should be revoked and the landlord restored to his right of terminating the tenancy as it originally

existed. On the faithful performance of the undertaking to the satisfaction of the public inspector, the tenant to be entitled to a certificate for a term of years, the length of which is determined by the magnitude of his improvements. The old rent to be recoverable during the new term by the same process as before.[1]

This remedy is not to be confined to the cases of mountain tenants; for it is further proposed that an Act be passed by which every tenant in the country, great and small, having a term less than seven years in his land, shall be entitled to transmit to some public functionary, constituted for the purpose, a written notice that he desires to improve his farm, and undertakes within three years to add a certain substantial and specific amount to the present yearly value, he having liberty to do so, if he only specifies beforehand a reasonable and practicable plan of his intended work. On inspection and approval of his proposal by the public officer, the tenant to receive a protecting certificate during the progress of his work, and on its completion to the satisfaction of the Inspector of Works, to be entitled to a certificate equivalent with a Parliamentary grant of a term, at the old rent, and of duration proportional to the addition he has made to the permanent agricultural value of his farm. This term to be sixty years if he adds 50 per cent.; ninety years if he adds 75 per cent.; one hundred and twenty years if he doubles the present value; and so on with an ascending scale, 'so as to make it possible, in certain cases, to acquire a perpetuity; and convert the old pecuniary payment into a fee-farm rent.' It is suggested that in the event of the tenant having miscalculated and fallen short of the improvement which he undertook to make, he should be visited with no worse consequences than to curtail the term in proportion to the deficiency in the effect of his works. 'Give him a term equivalent with the improvement which he has produced, and

[1] 'The Land Difficulty of Ireland, with an effort to solve it.' By Gerald Fitz Gibbon, Esq., Master in Chancery, p. 34. Longmans, 1869.

encourage him to continue his efforts, if perseverance is likely to succeed.'[1]

This plan is altogether prospective, and inasmuch as it does not protect existing improvements (a matter most difficult to accomplish by legislation), it so far falls short of the requirements of the case. Its able and eminently practical suggestions and general scope will doubtless prove most useful to Government and the Legislature in maturing a land scheme. The principle it involves is one of the utmost importance—namely, that the landlord should be entitled to only the original letting value of his land, during the term fixed, as provided, with a view to the full encouragement and protection of the industry of the tenant, and that the tenant, paying his rent and performing his other covenants, should enjoy *all* the fruits of his own improvements.

The actual practice in Ireland is the reverse of this, the landlords, as a rule, on the determination of a tenancy, demanding the full improved letting value of the land. This practice operates as an effectual bar to improvements, as tenants will not freely invest their labour and capital at the risk of the proceeds going into the landlord's pocket instead of their own.

With respect to this proposal of Master Fitz Gibbon, it appears desirable that it should not be restricted to tenants 'having a term of less than seven years in their land;' inasmuch as there are many with longer terms than seven years to whom its provisions would most beneficially apply. In Ireland, men with ten, fifteen, or even twenty years of a term unexpired, without the encouragement and protection of such a measure, would hesitate to enter on the improvements here contemplated.

The next remedy proposed is one akin to this. It is a law of compensation for unexhausted improvements, with a tribunal of easy access, and cheap and simple procedure—the principle

[1] 'The Land Difficulty of Ireland,' &c. By Gerald Fitz Gibbon, Esq., pp. 41, 42.

being, that an improving tenant, as long as he pays his rent, will be protected against eviction, by the heavy sum his landlord would be compelled by law to pay him for his improvements on his leaving. This enactment to be retrospective as well as prospective.

But there enters into this question of compensation for improvements an element which is generally lost sight of, and yet it is one which cannot be omitted, in any equitable adjustment of the question. If, for instance, a tenant, with the expressed consent or with the tacit assent or cognizance of his landlord, expends a certain amount of labour and capital in what are termed improvements in Ireland, and if the landlord arbitrarily evicts him, the bare money value of his unexhausted improvements is not sufficient compensation to that tenant. In a former chapter we have seen that under the tenant-right of Ulster the landlord practically acknowledges that the tenant, having made the improvements, has a right to the unexhausted value of those improvements, and a further right to be allowed to continue to enjoy them, and consequently, on going out, is entitled to compensation for both.[1] The same equity ought certainly to prevail in all cases of farmers expending money in *bonâ fide* improvements on their holdings; that is—over and above the actual money value of their unexhausted improvements, they ought, if evicted, to be entitled to an additional compensation, say a certain percentage, for not being allowed to continue to enjoy those improvements. Should the promised legislation on the land question be in this direction, the embodiment of the principle here indicated is essential to the success of any enactment that may be prepared.

But, in any case, I venture to express a doubt of any Bill of Compensation for Improvements successfully meeting the requirements of the land question. All such measures up to this have been signal failures. And even though now a measure should be devised, retrospective in its action, so as to protect

[1] Page 107.

existing improvements, and providing for the twofold compensation to which I have just referred, the difficulty of ascertaining and defining improvements, the vexed questions of their value, and, in some instances, whether they are improvements at all or the reverse, the disputes and litigation of landlords and tenants on this head, and the bad feeling sure to be engendered thereby, would, to a considerable extent, we may reasonably apprehend, counterbalance and neutralize any good results that might be anticipated from such a measure.

Another remedy proposed is, to legalize the tenant-right of Ulster, and extend it to the other three provinces. This remedy finds favour with many thinking men, as being perhaps the most feasible, and furthermore as being one of which the good results have been practically proved in the north of Ireland. The reducing to statute law that which is simply a custom appears to some very difficult. No doubt there are difficulties; but these are not insurmountable. Whatever may be done in legalizing this custom and extending it all over Ireland, there should be all due limitations to preserve and protect the landlord's rights and legitimate powers, at the same time that full security is afforded the tenant performing his covenants. As stated with reference to the preceding remedy, the value of tenant-right, when legalized, should embrace not only the unexhausted improvements, but the right to continue to enjoy those improvements; and furthermore, in Ulster, wherever the rent has been, as it is in many cases, a rent of custom, not of competition, it is the opinion of some highly competent judges that this circumstance ought also to be taken into account, and that the out-going tenant should be entitled to a further moderate compensation—say a few years' purchase of the difference between the customary and the competition rent.

This last provision, of course, would apply only to Ulster, for in that province alone, or rather in parts of it, a rent of custom obtains. The equity of such a provision is based by its advocates on the facts, first, that the landlords of Ulster, as

a rule, never arbitrarily or excessively advance their rents; and, secondly, that the occupiers in that province have paid enormous sums for their tenant-right. The total amount so paid is variously estimated. Mr. Caird sets it down at 15,000,000*l.*;[1] others as high as 20,000,000*l.*; but any estimate must be vague, as there are no reliable data on which to proceed. The eagerness with which such investments are made will be best judged of by the perusal of the following extract from the letter of a gentleman, to whom I am indebted for much valuable information, and than whom there is no one better informed on this subject:—

> The price of tenant-right in Ulster is a very curious thing, and very different from its value. It depends, I believe, mainly upon the fact that the tenants do not invest their money in any form of public security. At one time they kept it at home in stockings, and at the bottom of the meal barrel. Now they put it into the banks, where they get 2 per cent. Practically, however, they simply look upon the bank as a place of safety. They set no value on money except as it may buy land for them; and the price they give for land, especially for land adjacent to their own farms, is regulated by no principle whatever. They think that, if they give whatever the custom of the neighbourhood is, they can get back what they have paid.

In legalizing and extending this custom, it would be necessary to provide for those rarely exceptional cases in which the improvements have been exclusively effected by the landlord, as in England and Scotland. It would be also necessary to have a tribunal of easy access to adjudicate on differences that might arise between landlord and tenant as to alleged excessive or arbitrary advances of rent, which appears to be the only point that would be likely to arise requiring such intervention, under a well-devised law of tenant-right.

That the tenant-right custom of Ulster operates most beneficially on the whole, is generally admitted. The embodiment of that custom in statute law is a work that should be ap-

[1] 'Irish Land Question,' p. 28.

proached with great care and discrimination. Otherwise, that which now works so well as a custom, shrinking from the rude contact of ill-considered legislation, may be seriously impaired. In conclusion, it is the opinion of some who have devoted much thought to the subject, that if the custom of Ulster, successfully embodied in a statute, prevailed over the whole of Ireland, we might consider that most difficult of all problems—the Irish land question—as brought to a satisfactory solution.

We have next to consider the remedy, or rather series of remedies, proposed by Mr. Caird.[1]

1. As the law stands at present all buildings and other permanent improvements, although effected by the tenant, are the property of the landlord on the determination of the tenancy. It is proposed that this presumption of the law should cease, and that the tenant, on eviction, should be entitled to compensation at their value for all such improvements as have been made by him. The landlord to be freed from all claim on granting a lease of adequate duration at the present rent.

2. That a tenant holding without written lease be secured in possession by presumption of law (except in case of failure to pay rent), for an equitable term, say five years, sufficient to recoup the expenditure necessary to a proper system of cultivation.

3. That encouragement be given to the system of leases for a fixed term, by the Government loans for land improvement being made conditional on leases of no less than twenty years being given to the tenant.

4. That tenants for life and trustees be empowered to grant farm leases, and charge the fee-simple with compensation for improvements.

5. That equitable claims already existing under Ulster tenant-right be recognized in law. But where it is thought by both parties desirable to compensate and extinguish them, that the

[1] 'The Irish Land Question,' p. 23.

extent and equitable value of the right be ascertained and compensated by the landlord, either by giving the tenant a lease of adequate duration, on terms agreed between them, or by paying the value of the right, and that for this latter purpose landlords be empowered to take Government loans, to be charged on their estates in the same way as land improvement loans. These loans to be limited to a fixed sum yearly.

6. That in all cases of dispute, whether in regard to the value of existing improvements, and by whom executed, or the nature and value of tenant-right, there should be a power of reference by either party to some competent court or special commission, whose decision should be final.

7. That no notice of eviction be legal unless published at the proper time in such newspapers as the special court or commission shall, from time to time, appoint. By this provision it is hoped that the publicity given through advertisement would have the effect of checking 'vexatious notices of eviction, and stopping the anxiety caused to many a poor farmer by thoughtless or reckless agents.'[1]

There is much of what is valuable in these suggestions, and they are the more entitled to weight that they proceed from a writer of great practical experience, who has devoted much of his attention to the subject.

Mr. Caird expresses his high approval of Mr. Bright's plan of Government giving assistance to tenants wishing to buy their farms from owners willing to sell, which, in conjunction with his own proposals, he thinks would 'embrace the main conditions required to enable the Irish people to work out for themselves the agricultural prosperity of their country.' Mr. Bright's plan we shall presently examine.

Another suggestion that has been made may be mentioned here, as it involves a mode of indirectly obliging landlords to grant leases, viz.—The law at present makes the tenant pay the

[1] 'The Irish Land Question,' p. 27.

county cess and half the poor rate. It is proposed that the law should be changed, and that the landlord who does not give a lease for a specified term of years should be liable to the payment of the county cess and the whole poor rate. It may be said that he would raise the rent proportionally. It is true that in many instances this would be done, but it is presumed that, in time, the direct incidence of these taxes would have its effect in inducing the general granting of leases by landlords.

As regards leases, they should be *bonâ fide* leases. We have already seen [1] how tenants are unwilling to take leases in some instances, on account of the increased rent proposed as the basis of the lease, on account of the high stamp duty—an objection that ought to be immediately removed by legislation—and on account of certain clauses and covenants rendering any lease valueless. The following is the opinion of the agent of a large property in the south of Ireland on this last objection:—

> Let me not be told that leases are often given to tenants, and that landlords are willing to extend the boon. The leases in question are quite as precarious as tenancies-at-will; they have no efficacy whatever in removing the sense of insecurity. A lease to be of any avail for that purpose should, save in the particulars of subletting and subdividing, be free and unfettered—above all, they should put no obstacle on the sale of the tenants' interest. But modern leases are the reverse of this. And here let me observe, I allude to no leases of any individual proprietor. I speak of leases such as I have myself drawn and approved of. They are encumbered with clauses and covenants prescribing the modes of cultivation and the disposal of the produce, negatively and affirmatively regulating the action of the tenant, and entirely forbidding the essential power of free alienation. Every line in these documents may without much exaggeration be said to contain a legal pitfall for the unwary, and there are few, indeed, if any, who can escape the effects of the last clause with which they wind up, making void the lease in case of the breach of any of the foregoing covenants. Such leases afford no security. They are quite as precarious and more dangerous than tenancies-at-will, and they therefore

---

[1] Chapter xxvii.

furnish no exception to the state of insecurity which prevails among the occupiers of land in this country. [1]

Doubtless, these observations apply extensively but not universally. There are many leases under which the action of the tenant, save as to subletting and subdividing, is free and unfettered. No leases that I know of, outside of Ulster, allow the sale of tenant-right. It is allowed, however, by some landlords of their own free-will, and with the best results.

The next remedial measure is that which is looked for by all the tenant farmers of Ireland. It is simply Fixity of Tenure, with a periodical adjustment of rent, based on the prices of agricultural produce: the landlord's rights to be fully protected in his rent and royalties, and in the enjoyment of any increased value of the land arising from causes other than the tenant's improvements.[2]

This proposal, as put forward by so numerous and so important a class, will doubtless receive the most careful consideration of the Cabinet. If entertained, the most stringent provision should be made against subletting. If this were not done, we should only be returning to the system of middle-men.

This concludes the list of the principal remedies proposed. The end to be attained is that complete security for the tiller of the soil that would render his capital invested in farming as safe to him as if it were embarked in trade—so safe, in fact, that he would fearlessly put into the land, as his bank, every spare moment of labour, and every penny he could save from the expenses of his family.

The attainment of this most desirable end is, as we have already seen, equally the interest of landlord, tenant, agricultural labourer, and the whole community. On it depends not alone the prosperity, but the peace of the kingdom. What a

[1] Speech of Thomas Gallwey, Esq., agent of the Kenmare estates, at the Killarney Board of Guardians, November 4, 1869.

[2] Mr. Butt, Q.C., who has written very ably on the subject, first advocated a sixty-three years' statutory lease, with a periodical adjustment of rent, but has now given in his adhesion to fixity of tenure.

powerful garrison for the preservation of peace and order, and for the protection of property, should we not have in 600,000 farmers and their families, secure in their holdings, and thus possessing a stake in the country! Add to these the agricultural labourers connected with the farmers, influenced by their association, and greatly improved in their condition, through the necessarily increased wages fund, created by our increased productive industry.

The means to attain this end will best be decided on by the wisdom of Parliament.

Meanwhile, there are questions of detail, by no means unimportant, to which, before concluding, I may be permitted to refer.

We have seen the evils, economic and social, arising out of the antagonism of landlord and tenant, on the latter's exercising his privilege of the Parliamentary franchise, according to conscience.[1]

Obviously, whatever may be the land measure enacted by Parliament, the landlords will always have more or less power over their tenants. Therefore Vote by Ballot is an indispensable condition of the satisfactory settlement of the Irish Land Question.

Next, the Law of Distress, which is strongly condemned by all writers on the subject, for reasons so manifest that it is unnecessary to enter into them here, ought to be abolished. At the same time ample provision should be made for insuring the landlord immediate possession of his land, in the event of non-payment of rent.

Though last, not least, every facility ought to be given for the gradual creation of a peasant-proprietary in Ireland. We have seen how, on the occasion of the sale of the Marquis of Thomond's estate in the county of Clare, in small lots, several of the tenants bought their own farms.[2] Certain estates, when

[1] Chapter lxxviii. [2] Chapter xl.

on sale, might be sold in small lots, and a system akin to the Prussian Land Banks might be established.

This leads us to Mr. Bright's proposal—namely, that we should have a Parliamentary Commission for the purpose of acting as the Rent Banks act in Prussia, not only to help the transaction between the tenant and the landlord, when they have agreed upon it, but to go about and negotiate for the purchase of large estates held by absentees, and having purchased them, the sale being voluntary on the part of the owner, to offer those estates in separate farms, as far as was convenient or proper, to the tenants actually in occupation.

The mode of proceeding would be as follows:—An estate being bought by Government, the tenant of a farm upon it paying 40*l.* a year rent, supposing the rate of purchase to be twenty-five years, would have to pay 1,000*l.* for his farm. This sum would be advanced him for the purpose by Government, and he would thenceforward, for a term of thirty-five years, have to pay 10*l.* a year, in addition to the 40*l.* he previously paid as rent; that is, his obligation would be a payment to Government of 50*l.* a year for thirty-five years, after which the farm would be his own, rent-free, for ever.[1] Of course, if the 1,000*l.* could be paid off sooner, it would be done, and to this the tenant's past savings and present accumulations would be directed. In the Act, provision should be made for such a contingency.

What a stimulus would not such an object be to the energy and industry of the farmer and his family! Their every available hour of labour, their every spare penny, would be invested in the land. Not only would they toil for this, but after the farm was their own, their exertions would be unremitting to render it profitable; they would leave nothing undone that could add to its value. They would clear away all stones, they

[1] This payment of 50*l.* a year would be 5 per cent. on the 1,000*l.* advanced. of which 3½ per cent. would be for interest and expenses, and 1½ per cent. would, at compound interest, discharge the principal in thirty-five years.

would drain and subsoil where necessary, they would make fences and erect farm buildings; in a word, they would rapidly produce those results of unceasing industry which meet the eye in all countries blessed with a good system of land tenure.

The absentee proprietors, some of whom are the best of the Irish landlords—mainly because they are rich, and the resident landlords, as a class, are poor—would not be as ready to sell as Mr. Bright seems to think; but opportunities would constantly present themselves in the Landed Estates Court, where Government could bid up to a certain rate, and then offer the farms on the estate, if bought, to the occupying tenants.

The creation of a peasant-proprietary would no doubt be slow, for it should be aimed at only in such a manner as would not in the least interfere with existing rights; but, even though slow, with the opportunities constantly offering, it would be steadily progressive. A mixture of peasant proprietors in other countries with tenants perfectly secure in their outlay, has, as we have seen, a most beneficial effect.

There are some who argue that peasant proprietors in Ireland would sublet and subdivide, as there could be no preventive to their doing so, the land being absolutely their own. That such may occur in some cases, is not improbable, but any disadvantages resulting therefrom would weigh very little indeed against the great good that would accrue from the introduction of a system that works so beneficially in all countries in which it exists.

Besides, the wholesome provisions enacted in our new Land Bill, of which the main object will be to give complete security to the working farmer, will doubtless apply to any tenants that a peasant proprietor may have; and these tenants, who practically will be irremovable as long as they perform their covenants, and whom the sense of complete security will render a most laborious and saving race, will present indeed a striking contrast to the wretched ill-paid and over-rented cottier, under the conacre system of the past, holding his half-acre or quarter-acre lot of potato ground for only a portion of a year.

Some, again, argue from what has occurred with respect to the statesmen of Cumberland, that the peasant proprietors would in time be bought out. Those who know how much the Irish peasant loves his 'bit of land,' even under existing circumstances, will dissent from this opinion. How would it be if he could call that 'bit of land' absolutely his own? Would he part with it at any price? Would not his exertions be unceasing to enrich it for himself and his family? From what we have witnessed in past chapters of improvements effected under ordinarily favourable conditions, we may well infer that, whether in the case of a peasant-proprietary, or of tenant farmers absolutely secured in the fruits of their labour, or of a mixture of both, the 'magic of property' would, within one generation, make the whole island smile with fertility, and convert those who are now poor and, to a great extent, disaffected, into a prosperous, contented, and loyal population.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

THE GULF STREAM.

'THERE is a river in the ocean. In the severest droughts it never fails, and in the mightiest floods it never overflows. Its banks and its bottoms are of cold water, while its current is of warm. The Gulf of Mexico is its fountain, and its mouth is in the Arctic Seas. It is the Gulf Stream. There is in the world no other such majestic flow of waters. Its current is more rapid than the Mississippi or the Amazon, and its volume more than a thousand times greater.'

The waters of the Gulf Stream are warmest at the surface, and gradually decrease in temperature, as the deep-sea thermometer descends, but, all through, they are far warmer than the water on either side at corresponding depths. There is reason to believe that nowhere are they permitted, in the oceanic economy, to touch the bottom of the sea. 'There is everywhere a cushion of cold water between them and the solid parts of the earth's crust. This arrangement is suggestive and eminently beautiful. One of the benign offices of the Gulf Stream is to convey heat from the Gulf of Mexico, where, otherwise, it would become excessive, and to dispense it in regions beyond the Atlantic, for the amelioration of the climates of the British Islands and of all Western Europe.' If the warm water of the Gulf Stream were sent across the Atlantic in contact with the earth's solid crust—comparatively a good conductor of heat—instead of being sent, as it is, in contact with a non-conducting cushion of cold water to fend it from the bottom, all its heat would be lost, 'and the soft climates of both France and England would be as that of Labrador, severe in the extreme, and ice-bound.'—Maury's 'Physical Geography of the Sea,' pp. 25 & 49.

APPENDIX II.

THE ARIGNA IRONWORKS.

The principal beds are on the south side of the Arigna river, which flows into Lough Allen on the south-west. They show indications of having been worked at an early period; but, as was generally the case through the country, they appear to have been discontinued on the exhaustion of wood for fuel. On the discovery of pit coal in the district, the Arigna ironworks were established, in 1788, by the Brothers O'Reilly, who were unsuccessful. The works were then carried on by Mr. Latouche, the banker, to whom they owed money, but were abandoned by him in 1808, after an expenditure of 80,000*l*. Next a company was formed in London to work them, in 1825—the Arigna Coal Company. After some years this company failed, not from any deficiency of the material to produce good iron, but because the undertaking had fallen into the hands of dishonest jobbers, who made it so notorious that the name of Arigna became a caution to all who might incline to engage in mining enterprise in Ireland. This is much to be regretted, as Mr. Twigg, in his report to the Directors of the Arigna company, states:—'The ironstone mines have been examined, and the results found extremely favourable. A greater variety of ironstones I never met with, from which, by a proper admixture and proper management, I have no hesitation in saying that pig-iron of the best marks, and fit for foundry work of any kind, may be obtained. The iron mines begin in Rover, and continue for two miles and a half. I measured several of the beds to more than two feet thick, in some places laid bare in the ravines, and in the bed of the Arigna river. We can get any quantity at the shortest notice. There is enough to last two furnaces for 250 years.'

APPENDIX III.

COAL-FIELDS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES: STATISTICS OF THEIR COAL PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION.

In Prussia[1] the production of coal was 1,182,000 tons in 1824; 3,059,000 in 1844; 6,190,000 in 1854; and in 1865 there were 409 pits at work, producing 18,400,000 tons of black coal of the value of

[1] From Mr. Lowther's Report. Berlin, July 28, 1866.

4,954,986*l.*, and employing 89,192 workpeople. There were also at work, the same year, 511 pits of brown coal or lignite, occupying 14,137 workpeople, and producing 5,000,000 tons, value 710,437*l.*

There are five large coal-fields in Prussia: viz. two in Upper Silesia, at Beuthen and Waldenburg; two on the Rhine, near Aix-la-Chapelle, and on the Saar; the fifth on the Ruhr, partly in the Rhine province and partly in Westphalia; and there are smaller fields in Silesia, Saxony, and Westphalia.

In 1864 the exports of coal from Prussia were 2,233,228 tons, and the imports 733,220, of which 643,088 were from Great Britain. We have seen that she took some 30 per cent. less coal from Great Britain in 1867; a proof that she is largely developing her own mineral resources.

A reference to the map of Europe will show what good reason Prussia has to jealously guard her provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, so rich in minerals and coal deposits.

The production of coal in the United States[1] is rapidly increasing. In 1845 it was 4,400,000 tons; in 1850, 7,900,000; in 1860, 14,577,648; and in 1865 it reached 22,906,939 tons, viz.:—

	Tons
Bituminous	11,374,207
Anthracite	11,532,732
	22,906,939

Pennsylvania is by far the largest producer of both anthracite and bituminous coals in the United States. Of the total quantity mined in 1860, all but 1,000 tons of the former,[2] and about three-sevenths of the latter were raised in that State, its production of both being 11,049,534 tons that year, or about 75 per cent. of that of the whole country.

The North American Republic may well look forward to a great future, not only from its immense tracts of fertile land and its largely growing population, continuously supplemented from Europe by so much of 'the bone and sinew' of the working classes, but also from its vast coal-fields, thus far comparatively so little developed.

This will be best understood from the following approximate statement of the respective areas of coal formation in the principal coal-producing countries:— [3]

---

[1] See Mr. Burnley's Reports. Washington, November 25, 1865, and October 28, 1866.

[2] Mined in Rhode Island.

[3] From Taylor's 'Statistics on Coal,' published in 1855.

	Square miles
United States of America, bituminous coal area	133,132[1]
Ditto, anthracite of Pennsylvania	15,437
British America, bituminous coal	18,000
Great Britain, bituminous coal	8,139
Great Britain and Ireland, anthracite and culm	3,720
Spain	3,408
France	1,719
Belgium	518

In 1865 the United States imported 466,307 tons of coal from Canada and other British North American possessions, under the Reciprocity Treaty, and 218,986 tons of coal paying duty, of which 204,804 were from England. In the same year they exported 132,438 tons of domestic coal, of which 71,862 were for Canada.

The following extract from the last report of the Land Office for 1865 will give an idea of the richness of the North American coal-fields, and show what an effect the presence or absence of this deposit must have on the prosperity of a country:—

'The exact depth and value of the coal-measures around Pittsburg[2] it is impossible to figure, but the upper seam alone averages eight feet in thickness. An industrial writer figures the contents at 53,516,430,000 tons, which at two dollars per ton would be worth 107,032,860,000 dollars. The total number of collieries at present in operation in the Pittsburg coal-fields, embracing the whole range which we have described, is 103; hands employed, 6,424; value of lands, 7,589,700 dollars; value of annual coal product, 5,000,000 dollars.

'It is impossible to point out in figures the influence of the coal trade on the birth and growth of Pittsburg. It has opened the way for all our great manufactories, gives employment to nearly 7,000 miners, and twice as many artisans; has made men wealthy, built our churches, educational institutions, and charity schools; in fact, coal is Pittsburg. It built Pittsburg; made it a rich, populous city; put into its coffers such abundant solid wealth that when the rebellion came it lost 30,000,000 dollars without shaking its credit.'

Pittsburg is also rich in iron, which is found in all coal-measures. There are several rolling mills and manufactories, consuming over 100,000 tons of pig iron annually, raised on the spot.

The coal-producing district of Belgium[3] consists of a narrow belt which traverses it from east to west.

---

[1] 124,735 square miles east of the Mississippi river, and 8,397 west of the Missouri river.

[2] 15,000 square miles in extent. Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, so called from Fort Pitt, a fort constructed by the British on the site of the city previous to 1760.

[3] From the despatch of Lord Howard de Walden to Earl Russell. Brussels, August 8, 1865.

It is divided at the Brook Samson, in Namur, into two principal coal-basins.

The western and more important follows the valley of the Sambre, through Hainault, to Valenciennes and Douai in France; its average breadth being six miles from north to south, but at Charleroi it measures nine miles across. Its total length in Belgium is 95 miles; and its extent 90,051 hectares [1]

The eastern coal-basin follows the valley of the Meuse from Namur to Huy and Liége, running from thence into Holland and Prussia. It is 65 miles in length, and extends over 44,062 hectares.

The Belgian collieries produced in

	Tons		Tons
1836 . . .	3,056,669	1860 . . .	9,610,895
1851 . . .	6,233,517	1866 . . .	12,774,662

The annual exports of coal from Belgium are about 3,000,000 tons, of which nearly the whole quantity is to France; 150,000 tons being sent to Holland and other countries.

Coal is very widely diffused in France, being found in more than half the departments. The principal coal-field is in the Département du Nord, where it forms part of a coal district fifty leagues in length by two broad, extending into Rhenish Prussia. There are several mines, producing coal of excellent quality, at St. Etienne, near Lyons, department of Loire.

The total production of France in 1865 was 11,297,052 tons, showing an excess of 235,104 over the previous year, viz.:—

	Tons
Bituminous	10,238,487
Anthracite	814,616
Lignite, stipite, &c.	243,949
	11,297,052

The imports in 1865 were 7,108,286 tons, showing an increase of 581,839 tons. Of these imports, 3,427,000 tons were from Belgium,[2] and 1,455,206 from Great Britain. Nearly the whole of the remainder were from Prussia.

The exports in 1865 were 335,126 tons, showing a decrease of 2,223 tons on the year.

[1] The hectare is equal to two acres, one rood, thirty-five perches.

[2] The imports from Belgium are steadily increasing, having been 3,785,711 tons of coal, and 512,594 tons of coke in 1866.

'The increase in the production of coal, the increase in its importation, and the decrease in exportation, all point to one result—that more coal is being consumed in France. The increased consumption of coal indicates an increased activity of manufacturing industry—a result which is fully borne out by the returns illustrating the remarkable growth of the French export trade in manufactured articles, the details of which are given in a separate Report.'[1]

From a table of the production of the 68 coal-basins of France in 1865, the following are the first seven, which yielded more than four-fifths of the total quantity mined:—

	Tons
Valenciennes (Nord)	3,360,000
Loire (Loire)	2,961,400
Alais (Gard)	1,229,250
Commentry (Allier)	738,836
Creusot et Blanzy (Creuse)	737,950
Aubin (Aveyron)	445,540
Ronchamp (Haute Saône)	228,529

In every province of the Austrian empire,[2] coal of some species or other is found, and, from the extent of the coal-fields known to exist, it is evident that an almost unlimited quantity of this fuel might be raised.

The two species of coal produced are black coal ('steinkohle') and brown coal ('braunkohle'), the latter being much inferior in value and caloric power to the former. Of the production of 1863, 2,494,000 tons were black, and 2,000,000 brown coal.

The total imports annually are 349,000 tons, of which 210,000 are from Prussia; and the exports are 350,000 tons.

It is evident that the production of coal in Austria depends on the development of the railway system. That it has steadily increased with the extension of the means of communication will be seen by the following table:—

Year	German miles of railway opened	Coal produced Tons	Value of Coal produced £
1826	0	144,316	52,700
1836	37	237,951	62,900
1846	180	642,237	185,370
1856	416	2,338,195	758,240
1860	693	3,503,896	959,040
1863	794	4,494,000	1,382,130

[1] Reports of Mr. Fane and Mr. Grey to Earl Russell. Paris, 1865.

[2] Mr. Mounsey's Report in Lord Bloomfield's despatch to Earl Russell. Vienna, June 29, 1865.

In Saxony [1] the principal coal-mines are private property or belong to companies, and are situated in the neighbourhood of Zwickau. The mines near Dresden are not so considerable, and furnish principally fuel for that neighbourhood; whereas the first mentioned, having rail-road communication, export great quantities to Bavaria, the Saxon Duchies, and the adjacent countries.

The following table will show the rapid advance in the production and consumption of coal in Saxony:—

Year	1853	1858	1863
Number of pits . .	82	81	87
Produce in tons . .	783,000	1,190,000	1,902,175
Number of Workmen .	7,154	9,330	11,967
Exportation in tons. .	113,250	202,800	375,000
Importation [2] . . .			118,690
Consumption in Saxony, tons	730,000	1,002,500	1,525,000

About one-fourth of the production is brown coal. The brown coal itself is from pits, but much of it is collected on or near the surface of the ground, and this, which is much finer, is made up like peat, in forms in the shape of bricks, and sold for fuel.

In Bavaria,[3] there are seven coal-mining districts. By far the most important is the deposit of stone coal in the south-westerly district of the province of Rhenish Bavaria, or the Palatinate, near the Saarbrück frontier of Rhenish Prussia. This coal-field is contiguous to, and in fact a continuation of, the great coal-basin of the adjoining Prussian district of Saarbrück, and has an area of fifty-seven English square miles.

In the year 1859, there were at work in Bavaria 73 pitch and brown coal mines, producing 74,112 tons; and of stone coal mines 77, producing 186,488; being a total, of both kinds, of 260,600 tons. Ten years previously scarcely one-third of that quantity was produced.

---

[1] Report of Mr. Barnard to the Foreign Office. Coburg, July 1, 1865.

[2] The only coal imported is brown coal; from Bohemia 98,690, and from Prussia and Thuringia 20,000 tons.

[3] From Mr. Fenton's Report from Munich, December 6, 1866, in Sir H. Howard's despatch to Lord Stanley.

In 1865, there were 121 mines of stone coal yielding 361,926 tons, and 42 of brown coal yielding 73,676; the aggregate of both being 435,602 tons.

Of the imports and exports there are no reliable statistics.

Hanover and Electoral Hesse also give indications of steady progress.

In Spain,[1] 318,942 tons of coal were raised in 1860, and 401,297 in 1863. The mines are worked in seven provinces: Oviedo, Palencia, Cordoba, Sevilla, Leon, Gerona, and Burgos. Oviedo yields more than three-fourths of the whole. The imports, nearly all from England, were 323,442 tons in 1860, 281,112 in 1863, and 581,681 in 1867. No coal is exported from Spain.

There is, perhaps, no country in Europe which possesses such large coal districts as Russia,[2] and where so little has been done towards turning them to account.

In the Oural district about 20,000 tons have already been raised.

The Moscow basin, having Moscow in its centre, covers an area of 400 miles long by 300 miles broad. The coal is generally of an inferior quality. In this district also but little has been produced.

The coal region of the Don, covering an area of 180 miles long by 100 miles broad, lies half encircled by the southernmost branch of the Don, which thus affords easy means of communication with the Sea of Azoff and the shores of the Euxine. Its principal wealth consists in its beds of anthracite. The quantity mined in 1866 was 128,571 tons, being double the former average.

The imports of coal into Russia are steadily advancing, being 804,684 tons in 1864, against 393,550 in 1861, and 270,060 in 1857. About 95 per cent. of the imports in 1864 were from England.[3]

Throughout Russia wood is used for household purposes. The Russian has too long been accustomed to wood to take easily to coal. For industrial purposes, wood and coal are at present simultaneously used. On the Warsaw line, the engines are supplied with coal at some stations, with wood at others. In the iron foundries, and in some sugar refineries, coal is the favourite fuel, while wood is preferred in the cotton factories, as being cleaner and less destructive to the grates and boilers. The average price of English coal of all qualities at the St.

---

[1] From Sir J. Crampton's despatch to Lord Clarendon. Madrid, April 12, 1866, enclosing the Report of Mr. West, Sec. Leg.

[2] Mr. Locock's Report, July 12, 1865, and Mr. Drummond's, Saint Petersburg, December, 1866.

[3] In 1867 the imports from Great Britain were 544,000 tons.

Petersburg wharves is 16*s.* a ton, or about 18*s.* delivered to the manufacturer. The cost of wood is about the same.

With extensive coal-fields, more or less valuable, in the interior; and immense forests still untouched, it is difficult to estimate to what extent will foreign coal supply the annually increasing demand for fuel for industrial purposes in Russia. On the whole, within the last ten or twelve years, the annual importation has increased threefold.

Under the fostering care of a wise government, the vast resources of the empire are being rapidly developed. 'Project has succeeded project for monster lines of railway, which should unite all the most important commercial and agricultural towns and districts of the South, and extend even to Sevastopol.' With such increased facilities of intercommunication and transport, all but boundless tracts of corn land, now waste and unproductive, will gradually be brought under culture, industrial communities will arise where now all is solitude, and the steadily progressive growth of population and production will add greatly to the wealth and power of the Russian empire, and exercise an important influence on the food supplies, and probably the destinies of Europe.

In New South Wales[1] the quantity of coal is very great, and the progress of mining very rapid. In 1851, there was but one company of any importance at work, and only one horse-tramway for the conveyance of coal to the shipping. In 1861, there were tramways and locomotives from a dozen collieries, and the extraction had increased from 67,000 tons per annum to more than 360,000. In 1866, this quantity appears to have been considerably increased, 'the export from the single port of Newcastle exceeding 12,000 tons a week; and it is expected to reach 29,000 tons a week next year, when the additional facilities for the shipping which are in progress shall have been completed.' Australian coal is said to excel average English north-country coal in power of evaporation, 'for one pound of our coal evaporates more water than a pound of English coal; and the result is, that the Lords of the Admiralty have given orders that our coal shall be used in her Majesty's ships on the station here, so that we see before us a large amount of prosperous occupation and investment for capital in the working of the coal-fields.'[2]

---

[1] Sir John Young's despatch to Mr. Cardwell. Sydney, June 22, 1866. And Report of Mr. Keene, Government Examiner of Coal-fields, Newcastle, N. S. Wales, December 1, 1861.

[2] Ibid.

Although several large coal-fields exist in British India,[1] having regard to the vast extent of country, it cannot, on the whole, be said to be abundantly or extensively supplied with this essential source of motive power. The coal district consists of one (double) band of coal-yielding deposits, which stretch, with large interruptions, more than half-way across India, from near Calcutta towards Bombay. This district is confined within the 20th and 25th parallels of latitude, 5 degrees; whereas British India stretches from 8° north latitude to 35° or 36°, being 28 degrees. This shows the very local disposition of the coal deposits.[2]

The Indian are very seriously inferior to ordinary English coals. This is proved by analysis, as well as by practical trials, on a large scale. The two most heavily-worked lines of railway in India—namely, the East Indian (Bengal) and the Great Indian Peninsular (Bombay)—use respectively Indian and English coal; and their relative consumption is 150 tons per mile in the former, as compared with 75 tons in the latter.

It is therefore evident that Indian coals are not equal to more than about one-half of the duty of English coals.

The following is the total production of coal in India (almost entirely Bengal) for eight years:—

	Tons
1859	374,000
1860	375,000
1861	280,000
1862	325,000
1863	358,000
1864	337,000
1865	330,000
1866	405,000
Total for 8 years	2,784,000

The imports from Great Britain in 1867 were:—Bombay, 323,993 tons; Calcutta, 82,280; Madras, 12,640; and Kurrachee, 9,027. The consumption for railway purposes has increased enormously, and must continue to increase.

Nova Scotia,[3] including Cape Breton, which is one vast coal-field, is rich in coal deposits. There are seven mines working, producing nearly

[1] Report on the Coal Resources and Production of India. By T. Oldham, superintendent of the Geological Survey of India. Calcutta, March 1867. Communicated to the Foreign Office by the Secretary of State for India.

[2] In this general statement the widely detached coals of Eastern Bengal, Assam, and Khasia Hills, and the poor coals of Tenasserim are for the time neglected.

[3] Mr. Norton's Report to U.S. Government. Picton, Nova Scotia, October 25, 1865.

600,000 tons, the greater part of which is shipped to the United States.

The small island of Labuan, off the north-west coast of Borneo, abounds in coal of excellent quality. This island was ceded to Great Britain by the Sultan of Borneo in 1846. Taking into account its geographical position, as a depôt for vessels trading between Singapore and China, and the fact that its coal production is steadily increasing, it is a valuable possession to the British Crown.

APPENDIX IV.

FINE SPINNING MILLS OF ENGLAND.

'Our fine spinning mills,' says Dr. Ure, 'are, as Mr. Tuffnell justly observed, the triumph of art and the glory of England.[1] They need fear no competition, nor are they, in fact, objects of foreign rivalry. The delicacy of their machinery, the difficulty of keeping it in order, the dexterity of their hands, and the limited and fluctuating demand for their products, are well known to other nations. Of the perfection at which the art of spinning has now arrived in Manchester, a wonderful specimen was a few days ago given me by Thomas Houldsworth, Esq., M.P.—yarn spun in his magnificent factory for the French weavers, of which a single pound contains 450 hanks of 840 yards each, the whole, therefore, extending 215 miles in length, or nearly the distance between London and Paris. The Sea-island cotton wool, from which the yarn is made, is of exquisite quality, consisting of regular cylindric filaments, about one three-thousandth of an inch in diameter, as measured in the micrometer microscope. The thread itself is only one three-hundredth of an inch thick, being much finer than a human hair. The tissues made of it will surpass the far-famed robes of Dacca, styled, in Oriental hyperbole, the *woven wind*.'[2] The beautiful and delicate muslins of Dacca, called also 'flowing water' and 'the evening dew,' are made by young women with the fingers on a fine steel spindle. The finest yarn can be spun only in the early morning, before the rising sun dissipates the dew on the grass, or, when this is wanting, and the air is unusually dry, it is not unfrequently made over a shallow vessel of water. This imparts the necessary degree of moisture to the

---

[1] Supplement to the 'Factory Commission Report.'

[2] 'Ure's Cotton Manufactures of Great Britain,' vol. i. p. lxxv.

filaments, which otherwise would break, owing to their extreme tenuity.[1] These muslins were formerly exported to all parts of the world, but are now superseded by the British product. It must be admitted, however, that the hand-made article is very superior in durability to that made by the machine.

APPENDIX V.

COMPARATIVE COST OF FUEL FOR MANUFACTURING PURPOSES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Extract from an Address by Sir Robert Kane in Dublin, January 1865.

From the particulars supplied by Mr. Baines, by Mr. Symonds, and others, it results that for the cotton and woollen mills of Leeds, of Blackburn, and of Manchester, we may safely consider that the cost of steam power, even including the coals consumed in heating and lighting the mills, amounts in average to one and a quarter per cent. of the total current expenditure, whilst wages amount to 33 per cent., and the interest on capital to 10 per cent. Hence it appears how much more seriously a variation in the rate of wages, or of any other of the sundry charges of raw materials or machinery, should influence the final financial success of such establishments than any difference in the price of fuel within the limits to which such variation is practically confined. But in Ireland, where, by the addition of freight and carriage, the price of coal for manufacturing purposes may be considered as practically double what it is in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain, the proportion is altered; and from returns with which I have been kindly favoured from Cork, Waterford and Belfast, I find that in the manufactures of similar textile fabrics in this country the proportion which the cost of fuel, including lighting and heating, bears to the total cost of production, is two and two-thirds per cent. The disadvantage under this head, therefore, to which those branches of industry are subjected cannot be taken to exceed one and one half per cent. of total cost of production. In fact this small difference is quite absorbed in the great sources of cost arising from the practical facilities for the erection and repairing of machinery, and access to markets which long-established centres of manufacture possess, and which will

---

[1] Textile Manufactures of India. J. F. Watson's Report to the Secretary of State for India, 1866, p. 65.

sometimes preserve a branch of business in a locality long after its disadvantages in other respects have become evident. It is known, however, that the cheapness of coal in England had led to a waste of that important material in a most culpable degree, and lately the voices of the most eminent geologists and miners have been raised to warn Great Britain that the sources of her manufacturing prosperity, although vast, were not inexhaustible. The duration of supply from the British coal-fields at even the present rate of consumption, which is close on 100 millions of tons per year, is reckoned even on the most liberal calculation at a term which, in the history of a nation, is far from being without end. Manufacturers and men of science have been therefore active in devising means of economising fuel. The result has been so far successful that there probably is now done in each branch of manufacture at least double the amount of duty by each ton of coals that was done thirty years ago; and this economy will probably be pushed much further by the extension of the principle availed of in the furnaces of Neilson, and of Simmons, where the waste heat of the products of combustion is employed to heat the fresh air which enters the fire-places, thereby creating a very much higher temperature by the combination of a much smaller quantity of coals. Every improvement of this sort tends, however, to equalize the relative cost of power in various places; and hence in this country it is of special importance that every means that science indicates should be employed to diminish the expenditure of fuel. In this regard we here in Ireland are placed in circumstances nearly similar to the manufacturers of France and Belgium and Germany, who, although with small coal-fields of their own, are largely supplied with coals imported from England; and, as with us, the price of the home-raised fuel is determined by that at which the sea-borne coal can be supplied.

APPENDIX VI.

DOCTOR JOHN LYNCH, AUTHOR OF 'CAMBRENSIS EVERSUS.'

JOHN LYNCH was born in Galway in 1599. His family was of the highest position, and at the present day many monuments of their former wealth and influence may be seen by the visitor of that ancient town. Having completed his studies in France, he was ordained priest about 1622. He laboured for thirty years at the Irish mission, for the first twenty years by stealth and in peril of his liberty and life, 'cele-

brating mass in secret places and private houses before the opening of the Catholic churches in 1642.' He also taught school in Galway, and was distinguished for his learning. On the surrender of the town in 1652 he fled to France, and died about 1673. His great work, 'Cambrensis Eversus,' full of research and learning, and abounding with matter of deep interest to the student of Irish history, appeared in 1662. It was published under the name of 'Gratianus Lucius.' It supplied a great want. The strong and bitter antipathy of England to Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth had been intensified by the publication of De Barri's works, published by Camden in 1602.[1] Those works remained unanswered until Dr. Lynch published his confutation. Dr. Lynch was the cotemporary of Rothe, Ussher, Fleming, Colgan, Ward, Stephen White, Wadding, Ware, O'Flaherty, and other distinguished Irish writers.

APPENDIX VII.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.

Girald de Barri, commonly called Giraldus Cambrensis, was born near Pembroke in 1146. Through his mother, he claimed descent from the princes of South Wales, and his father was one of the leading men of the country. Educated in the household of his uncle the Bishop of Saint David's, and having spent three years at the University of Paris, he was ordained priest about the year 1169. In 1185, he was sent into Ireland by King Henry II., with Prince John. Having declined all ecclesiastical preferment in that country, he employed his time in collecting materials for, and writing, his 'Topography of Ireland,' and his 'History of the Conquest of Ireland,' completed in 1189. He returned to Wales in 1188, and, devoting himself principally to literary labours, died about the year 1220. He was the author of many works. His manuscripts are preserved in the British Museum, at Lambeth, and in the Bodleian Library. His two works on Ireland lay in manuscript until 1602, when they were published by Camden, in the Frankfort press. They uniformly reveal a feeling in their author most hostile to the Irish, whose manners and customs are certainly represented by him in a very unfavourable light. It was for the purpose of refuting 'the virulent calumnies uttered against the Irish in these productions,' that Dr. Lynch wrote his 'Cambrensis Eversus.' (See preceding page.)

---

[1] See 'Giraldus Cambrensis.' Appendix VII.

APPENDIX VIII.

WENTWORTH, LORD STRAFFORD.

Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, was born in London in 1593, appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland 1632 to 1639, created Earl of Strafford and Knight of the Garter 1639, impeached for high treason by the Long Parliament, and beheaded May 12, 1641. He was an able governor, but unscrupulous as to the means employed to attain his ends. His motto, 'Thorough,' was characteristic of the man.

APPENDIX IX.

DUKE OF ORMOND.

James Butler, Duke of Ormond, was born in London in 1610. At the age of twenty-two, he succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Ormond, and, in reward of his public services, was created Duke at the Restoration. He was several times, and for a considerable period, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He died in 1688, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Ormond is perhaps the most important and prominent character in Irish history since the Conquest. In his government of Ireland, he showed himself an able, prudent, and politic statesman. He possessed far more tact than Wentworth, and looked closely to his own interests. His proceedings were often shaped by expediency; and, on the whole, he so contrived to direct them as to preserve and improve his own influence and possessions. His estate, before the war (1641), was valued at 7,000*l.* a year. He obtained large grants of the forfeited estates of the Confederates, valued at the time at 600,000*l.*; and eventually his rent roll was increased twelve fold, being reckoned at 80,000*l.* a year after the Restoration. Moreover, the Cromwellian Parliament, to conciliate his favour, voted him a grant of 30,000*l.* On the whole, although severely censured for his selfish grasping at the forfeited estates of the Confederates, so unjustly victimised, he was anxious to promote the welfare of Ireland, and endeavoured, though with but little success, to relieve her of the weight of oppression and wrong by which she was so grievously afflicted. His biography by Carte[1] is a most interesting work, and abounds with information valuable to the student of Irish history.

---

[1] 'Life of James Duke of Ormond,' by Thomas Carte, M.A. London, Knapton, 1736.

APPENDIX X.

DEAN SWIFT.

JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D., was born in Dublin on November 20, 1667. His family came from Yorkshire. At the age of fifteen, he was matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1688 he left the university, and went to England, where he became amanuensis of Sir William Temple. Having embraced the ecclesiastical state, he was appointed Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. He died in 1745. Swift was a powerful writer and keen satirist. All his works on Ireland had great effect, especially his 'Drapier's Letters.' His 'Gulliver's Travels,' like Defoe's 'Robinson Crusoe' and Goldsmith's 'Vicar of Wakefield,' would alone immortalize any author.

APPENDIX XI.

DEPTH OF MINES.

SOME of the Cornish mines have attained a wonderful depth. The Consolidated mines are 1,800 feet deep. Tresavean mine is 1,920 feet below the adit level, 2,112 feet below the surface, and 1,700 feet below the level of the sea. Monkwearmouth coal mine, near Sunderland, is 1,590 feet perpendicular depth. The greatest depth attained is that of the Eselschacht mine at Kuttenburg in Bohemia, now closed, viz. 3,778 feet below the surface. A mile is 5,280 feet.

APPENDIX XII.

DELTAS.

THE Delta of the Nile, so called by the ancients from its resemblance to the Greek letter Δ, lies between the branches of the Nile and the Mediterranean, and extends 130 miles along the coast, and seventy on the sides from the point where the Nile branches off to the sea. Its extraordinary fertility is owing to the periodical inundations of the Nile. It is a deposit of the mud of the river, resting on the desert sand. This deposit close to the branches of the Nile is fully thirty feet in thickness, and diminishes to six inches at the extreme edges of the inundation. The cities of the Delta are Alexandria, Damietta, and Rosetta; besides which there are several populous villages. The name of Delta is now generally given to similar alluvial formations at the mouths of great rivers.

APPENDIX XIII.

GRANITE WORKS.

Of this rock are constructed the piers of the artificial harbour of Kingstown, which was commenced in 1816, from the plans of Mr. Rennie, and cost over 800,000*l*. The eastern pier is 3,500 feet in length, and the western 4,950 feet. The depth of the harbour varies from 15 to 27 feet; its area is 250 acres, and the width of its mouth is 850 feet. The granite used in its construction was taken from Killiney Hill. Although, in the opinion of some competent judges, the position of its entrance might have been better selected, it has been pronounced by the Tidal-harbour Commissioners to be 'one of the most splendid artificial ports in the United Kingdom.' Another remarkable work in granite is the great river wall of the Thames embankment, which is nearly 7,000 feet long by 8 feet in thickness, and averages more than 40 feet high, with foundations, which go from 16 to 30 feet below the bed of the river. London and Waterloo bridges, and several other of the principal bridges of the metropolis and the kingdom, are constructed of this material. Immense quantities of granite are shipped from Aberdeen to London, where it is used for pavement.

APPENDIX XIV.

EDMUND SPENSER.

Edmund Spenser, one of the greatest of English poets, was born in London in 1553. He came over to Ireland as secretary to the Lord Deputy, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, in 1580. In 1586 he obtained a grant of 3,028 acres, part of the forfeited estates of the Earl of Desmond. Residence being a condition of the royal patent conferring the lands, he took up his abode at Kilcolman Castle, near Doneraile, in the county of Cork. Here, in 1589, he was visited by Sir Walter Raleigh, and read to him the manuscript of the 'Faerie Queen.' In 1598 he was nominated by Queen Elizabeth sheriff of the county of Cork. The Queen's letter to the Irish Government making the appointment, dated September 30, 1598, is extant. The same year, owing to the rebellion of Tyrone, the poet was obliged to fly with his family, and his castle, in which was his infant child, was burned. He died of a broken heart in London in 1599. His 'View of the State of Ireland' is a work of much interest and authority on the history of the country in his time.

APPENDIX XV.

INDUSTRY OF IRISH IMMIGRANTS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

From the 'Louisville Democrat,' July 1869.

THE IRISH ELEMENT IN AMERICA.—The Irish in America have this curious and undeniable characteristic, that they never cease to be Irish, and, at the same time, are as good Americans as the best. They are, indeed, among the most remarkable of modern people. Genius, wit, and eloquence seem to be the common heritage, in a greater or less degree, of the whole Irish race. Among their most prominent characteristics are the courage of the men, the purity of the women, warm hearts and open hands of all, strong religious faith, and an imperishable love of old Ireland. The magnitude of the Irish element in our population may be judged of by the fact that in the forty-six years, 1815–1860, the total number of immigrants arriving from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on our shores was 2,750,874. In the same period, 1,196,521 persons emigrated from the United Kingdom to the British colonies in North America, a large portion of whom are known to have eventually settled in the United States. By the census of 1860 the population in the United States of Irish birth was 1,611,304, and that of German 1,301,136. Since that period the German element has increased, relatively speaking. The greatest number of Irish reside in the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Michigan. It is computed that the four millions of emigrants enumerated in the United States in 1860, together with the number deceased, must have brought into the country an amount of property not less than 400 millions of dollars, besides the much greater capital which the immigrants in themselves represent, physically and intellectually. One fact, to which we would call special attention, is the large sums of money which have been sent by settlers in North America to friends in Great Britain, amounting, from 1840 to 1863, according to the returns of banks and mercantile houses through which they have been forwarded, and not including sums remitted through other agencies, to 56,191,733 dols. Taking as a standard the increase of population of Irish nativity from 1850 to 1860, which was about 751,000, the census of next year will probably give 2,362,304 persons of Irish nativity in this country, not counting the large number of Irish descent. No accession to our population from abroad has been more valuable than that of the Irish. They may be said to have been the pioneers in the emigration to this country, and as such their labour

was indispensable in all the industrial enterprises which have been necessary to the development of our national wealth. The public works of our country, the canals, the railroads, the clearing up of the Western wilderness, have been accomplished in great measure through their bone and muscle. They have formed the front ranks in the armies of peace as well as of war. Their creative energies are as great as their destructive; and when we say that, we need add nothing further. In all our battles, whether by sea or land, their courage has been conspicuous. It is not, however, by their stamina alone, either in peace or war, that the Irish have been of value to our country. They have contributed to our moral, intellectual, and political forces as largely as any class of immigrants, and they and their descendants are among the leading men of all our departments in public and private life. Henry Clay once pointed out a striking resemblance between the Irish and Kentuckians in their impulsive, hospitable, frank, intrepid character. In truth, they assimilate with our people with wonderful facility, and may be said to be full-fledged Americans before they step upon our shores. To those who are accustomed to speak of the poverty of the Irish peasantry as proof of a want of industry and economy, we need only to exhibit the prosperous condition of the same people here as evidence that the state of things in their own island is due to other causes than defects of the national character, whilst the vast sums they have sent to their friends at home exhibit qualities of heart which would do credit to any people. In fact, the amazing recuperative energies of the Irish people, which centuries of oppression have not been able to overcome, are a proof of a vitality that seems capable of outliving the tyranny which has sought in vain to repress it, and of showing that the shamrock, like some other plants, has a power of forcing itself from the ground upwards through the heaviest superincumbent pressure.

Irish Immigrants on the River Plate.

The Irish, although exercising little or no weight in public matters, may contend with any other nationality in point of usefulness. They have not, it is true, the position or advantages of their mercantile brethren, nor the versatility of the Basques in accommodating themselves to any calling or occupation; but to them is due the grand development of sheepfarming, which makes this country rival Australia in the growth of wool. The Irish farmers are estimated to possess nearly 30,000,000 sheep—they are also, as farmers, the chief landed proprietors in Buenos Ayres, and very hospitable to strangers. The districts of Lujan, Mercedes, Pilar, Areco, Lobos, &c., are thickly

settled with Irishmen, and each district has its own Irish clergyman. With one or two exceptions, the Irish settlers began life (within the last thirty years) having no other capital than a spade or shovel. There is nothing in the country more admirable than the steady industry of these men, some of whom count their sheep by the hundred thousand and have landed property of thousands of acres in extent. In the city there is a large number of Irish housemaids, who are remarkable for their uniform morality, honesty, and good conduct.[1]

APPENDIX XVI.

COSHERERS, COIGNY, 'SPEND ME AND DEFEND ME.'

COSHERERS are described as follows:—

'Many young gentlemen of this kingdom that have little or nothing to live on of their own, and will not apply themselves to labour or other honest industrious courses to support themselves, but do live idly and inordinately, coshering upon the country and sessing themselves, their followers, their horses, and their gray-hounds upon the poor inhabitants, sometimes exacting money from them to spare them and their tenants, and to go elsewhere to their *eaught* and *edraugh*, viz. supper and breakfast, and sometimes craving help from them, . . apt, upon the least occasion of disturbance or insurrection, to rifle and make booty of his Majesty's loyal subjects.' See 10th and 11th Charles I., c. 16. An Act for the suppressing of Cosherers and idle wanderers. 'Irish Statutes,' vol. ii., p. 169.

Coigny is man's meat, as livery is horse-meat. 'Coigny is a common use amongst landlords of the Irish, to have a common spending upon their tenants; for all their tenants, being commonly but tenants at will, they use to take of them what victuals they list; for of victuals they were wont to make small reckoning; neither in this was the tenant wronged, for it was an ordinary and known custom, and his lord commonly used to covenant with him, which if at any time the tenant disliked he might freely depart at his pleasure. But now by this statute the said Irish lord is wronged for that he is cut off from his customary services, of the which this is one, besides many other of the

[1] 'Hand Book of the River Plate; comprising Buenos Ayres, The Upper Provinces, Banda Oriental, and Paraguay.' By M. G. and E. T. Mulhall, Editors of the 'Standard.' In two volumes. 1869, vol. i.

like, as Cuddy, Coshery, Bonnaght, Shrah, Sorehin, and such others; the which I think were customs at first brought in by the English upon the Irish, for they were never wont and yet are loath to yield any certain rent but only such spendings; for their common saying is "Spend me and defend me."'—Spenser's 'View of the State of Ireland, written in the year 1596,' p. 52.

APPENDIX XVII.

IRISH PARLIAMENTS. POYNINGS' LAW.

THERE was no attempt to hold a national parliament until the 11th year of James I., A.D. 1613. All previous parliaments were merely composed of the nominees of government, or the representatives of the English party in Ireland. Even these parliaments had no freedom of action; for by Poynings' law, so called after the Lord Deputy, Sir Edward Poynings, by whom it was introduced, the 10th of Henry VII., chapter 4, it was enacted (A.D. 1495) that no parliament should ever thenceforward be held in Ireland until the Acts to be proposed therein were first certified to England, and approved of by the king and his council there, and then returned with the king's licence to hold such parliament under the seal of England, and, if altered and amended by the said council, that they should either be passed in said altered form or not at all.[1]

Poynings' law was well intended, and at first was most useful; its object being to check the abuses of the English party in Ireland, who had the parliament entirely in their hands. When the parliaments became national such a law was highly objectionable. It was repealed in substance, save as to the necessity of the king's license, by the 21st and 22nd Geo. III., c. 47, A.D. 1781-82.—'Irish Statutes,' vol. xii., p. 356. At the same time another Act was introduced by Poynings and passed by the Irish parliament, by which all the statutes hitherto passed in England were made law in Ireland. 10th Henry VII. c. 22.—'Irish Statutes,' vol. i., p. 56.

[1] See Explanatory Act, 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary, chapter 4.

APPENDIX XVIII.

THE TWELVE LONDON COMPANIES IN THE COUNTY OF LONDONDERRY.

THE IRISH SOCIETY.

King James I. having brought his project of the Plantation of Ulster with Scotch and English settlers before the Corporation of London, and that body having decided to take part therein, a grant of nearly the whole county of Londonderry was made, in 1613, to the Irish Society, paying a sum of 40,000*l.* to the Crown, and subject to certain conditions, commonly known as the Articles of Plantation, to which I have fully referred in the text.[1]

Each of the twelve companies contributed 3,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* towards the above fine; and about the year 1617 the Irish Society executed separate grants to them of their several proportions, now their estates.

A Royal Commission having found that the companies had failed to carry out the conditions of the Articles of Plantation, the charter of the Irish Society was cancelled in 1634. It was, however, renewed by letters patent, dated April 10, 1662, the 14th of Charles II., and the companies hold their estates under this charter at the present day.

The following are the particulars of the several estates:—

The Drapers' estate is situated at the south-west corner of the county. It consists of sixty-two townlands, containing about 41,201 statute acres. The Government valuation in 1858 was 20,531*l.* The rental is about 13,000*l.* per annum.

The chief town is Moneymore, where the agent resides. Its population is 779. The only other town is Draperstown, with a population of 467.

Leases of twenty-one years are given on this estate to farmers. Long leases for building in towns or for manufacturing purposes are refused. Hence, we are told, 'the towns have dwindled away, and there are no manufactures or manufacturing industry on the estate.'

Every tenant on this estate has a right, by the custom, to sell his interest in his farm at the highest price he can procure, without any restriction by the company.

The majority of the tenants on the estate are Presbyterians.

---

[1] Chapter lix.

The Ironmongers' estate is situate in the east and central part of the county, in the half-barony of Coleraine. It consists of forty-seven townlands, containing 13,232 statute acres. The Government valuation in 1858 was 8,132*l*, and the rental is about 7,400*l*. per annum. There is no market town on the estate.

It is managed by a committee of twelve, six of whom are elected by the company, to serve for three years in rotation. The other six, who generally hold office for life, are chosen from the following minor companies, who have an interest in the estate, viz.:—The Brewers', the Scriveners', the Coopers', the Pewterers', the Barbers', and the Carpenters'.

There are few leases on the estate. Nearly all the farms are let from year to year, under special agreements, giving the company power to put an end to the tenancy on three months' notice to quit.

The tenant-right custom has been limited to ten years of the tenant's rent.

'There are no manufactures,' we are told, 'owing to the fact that the company refuse to give perpetuity leases.'

The majority of the tenants are Presbyterians. The mountainous part of the estate is occupied principally by Roman Catholics.

The Mercers' estate is situate around Kilrea, on the east centre of the county. It consists of forty townlands, containing about 21,152 statute acres. The Government valuation in 1858 was 11,681*l*. The rental is 10,200*l*. per annum.

Kilrea is the principal town, and has a population of 924. The only other town is Swatragh, a village with 219 inhabitants.

There are no leases on the estate. Every tenant is required to sign a special agreement, whereby a three months' notice to quit can determine the tenancy.

We are told that, on this estate, 'the tenant-right custom has been most arbitrarily abolished.'

There are no manufactures on the estate.

The Presbyterians and Roman Catholics are nearly equal in numbers.

The Clothworkers' estate is situate near Coleraine. Part of it consists of the streets on the west side of Coleraine, but there is no town on the estate except the suburbs of Coleraine, known as Waterside.

It consists of thirty-three townlands, containing about 14,056 statute acres. In 1858 the Government valuation was 8,563*l*. The rental is 6,000*l*.

There are some leases; the custom of tenant-right is respected on the estate; there are no manufactures.

The Salters' estate is situate on the south-east corner of the county (along Lough Neagh). Magherafelt is the chief town, containing a population of 1,293.

It consists of fifty townlands, containing about 22,066 statute acres. The Government valuation in 1858 was 17,777*l.* The rental is now 17,000*l.*

There are very few leases on the estate, except the town of Magherafelt.

Up to 1865 the custom of tenant-right was respected; but it has been virtually destroyed by the increase of rents since then. No manufactures.

This estate was leased to Thomas Bateson, the grandfather of the present Sir Thomas Bateson, for forty-three years, from May 13, 1754, at 392*l.* per annum; and, for fifty-five years from the expiration of that lease, at 500*l.* per annum.[1] The latter lease expired May 13, 1853, and the property reverted to the Salters' Company, who now manage it themselves.

The majority of the tenants are Presbyterians. Next in number are the Roman Catholics.

The Fishmongers' estate lies along the south of Lough Foyle, between Newtownlimavady and Muff. The only town is Ballykelly, with 100 inhabitants. The estate consists of forty-nine townlands, containing about 21,661 statute acres. The Government valuation in 1858 was 10,457*l.* The rental is 10,000*l.*

The tenant-right custom has suffered most on this estate. All incoming tenants or assignees of old tenants are obliged to sign a deed of covenant, releasing all claim to tenant-right. Anyone refusing to sign will not be accepted.

The Grocers' estate lies on the north-west corner of the county between Derry and Muff. It consists of forty-two townlands, containing 12,168 statute acres. The Government valuation in 1858 was 7,007*l.* The rental is 6,000*l.* per annum.

'On this estate,' we are told, 'the tenant-right custom has been left untouched, and the consequence is, it is the most contented and prosperous of all the London Companies' estates.'

In passing through this estate last August, I was particularly struck with its appearance of prosperity, and I heard its management spoken of in terms of high praise.

---

[1] This second lease was dated August 14, 1754, to commence from May 12, 1798. It is not stated that there was any fine paid for either lease.

The Skinners' estate adjoins Magherafelt, Newtownlimavady, and Londonderry. It consists of sixty-four townlands, containing 44,444 statute acres. The mountainous parts of the county are principally on this estate.

The Skinners' Company, in 1803, leased this estate to Robert Ogilby, for the life of Robert Leslie Ogilby, in consideration of 25,000*l.* Mr. R. L. Ogilby is still alive, but is a very old man. At his death the estate will revert to the Skinners' Company. In 1858 the Government valuation was 13,182*l.* Mr. Ogilby's rental is under 12,000*l.*

Dungiven is the only town—population, 845.

The old tenant-right custom is recognised on the estate. There are no manufactures. The population is mainly Roman Catholic.

The Vintners' estate, now called the 'Bellaghy estate,' lies between Castledawson, Maghera, and Kilrea, in the south-east part of the county.

It consists of fifty-six townlands, containing 31,713 statute acres. In 1858, the general valuation was 17,477*l.* The rental is about 4,500*l.*

Bellaghy, formerly called Vintners' Town, is the principal town.

The Vintners' Company sold this estate in 1737 to the Right Hon. William Connolly, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, for 15,000*l.* He leased the greater part of it *in perpetuity*, taking fines and reducing the rents. His son, Thomas Connolly, continued to make leases in perpetuity of such portions as his father had not demised.

The Merchant Tailors' estate is situate near Coleraine, in the Half-barony of Coleraine. It consists of forty-five townlands, containing about 18,729 statute acres. In 1858 the Government valuation was 7,743*l.* The rental is about 7,000*l.*

This estate was leased in perpetuity to the Richardson family. The present owner is Mr. Richardson, who resides at Somerset, Coleraine.

There are no leases, all his tenants holding from year to year.

The tenant-right custom is to some extent recognised on the estate.

The Haberdashers' estate is situate on the east of the road from Dungiven to Newtownlimavady. It consists of eighty-six townlands, containing about 29,845 statute acres. In 1858 the Government valuation was 12,015*l.*

This company sold their estate to the Earl of Tyrone about the year 1685. It has since continued in the family. The Marquis of Waterford is the owner.

There are no leases. The tenants hold from year to year.

Besides the Haberdashers' estate, the Marquis of Waterford is owner

of a large tract in the Half-barony of Coleraine, which was evidently part of the Ironmongers' estate. It consists of nineteen townlands, containing 7,036 statute acres, valued in 1858 at 3,491*l.*

The entire estate contains 36,871 statute acres, valued at 15,506*l.*

The tenant-right custom is recognised on the estate.

The Goldsmiths' estate, which is situate near the city of Londonderry, consists of thirty-two townlands, containing about 8,429 statute acres, and valued at 6,086*l.*

This company sold their estate to the Earl of Shelburne for 14,000*l.* in the year 1731. The Ponsonby family were owners for a long time.

It was sold in the Incumbered Estates Court in November 1855, in the matter of William Pennell and others, assignees of Leckie Alexander, a bankrupt, petitioners, to twelve purchasers, in thirty-two lots.

The sale produced 109,000*l.* The gross rental was 5,055*l.*; the net rental, 4,752*l.*

Some of the purchasers, we are informed, 'sold to the tenants their farms, making them freeholds. Others have raised the rents enormously, and given no fixed tenure to the tenants.'

Each of the London Companies' estates has a resident agent. It is stated that 'the custom of tenant-right, which heretofore had such a beneficial effect in this part of Ulster, and on the faith of which so much has been done by the tenants in improving the lands, exists now in little more than a name.'

'The rapid periodical increase of rents on the tenants' own outlay, which has been the general practice of late years, until the lands of the London Companies' estates are let at rents nearly as high as the same lands in England and Scotland, where the landlords made all the improvements, has had the most crushing effect on the Ulster tenant-right.'[1]

---

[1] All the above particulars are taken from a very interesting little pamphlet, 'The Irish Land Question and the Twelve London Companies in the county of Londonderry.' Belfast, printed at the Daily 'Northern Whig' office, 1868.

APPENDIX XIX.

BARONETS.

THE dignity of baronet is generally conferred by patent. The order was instituted by James I. in 1611, when two hundred baronets of England were created for the plantation of Ulster. Baronets of Ireland were also instituted by James I., in 1619, with the same privileges and for the same purpose.

In 1625, the order of Baronets of Scotland, called also Baronets of Nova Scotia, was instituted by Charles I., the object being to encourage the plantation and settlement of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, in North America.

Since the legislative unions of England and Scotland, and of Great Britain and Ireland, all baronetcies created are of the United Kingdom.

The baronetcy is the lowest title that is hereditary.

APPENDIX XX.

HENRY GRATTAN.

HENRY GRATTAN was born in Dublin in 1746. His father was Recorder of Dublin, and represented that city in Parliament. At an early age, Mr. Grattan's attention was directed by his father to public affairs, and he took much interest in the parliamentary debates. He was educated at Dublin University; and at the age of twenty-one he was entered a student of the Middle Temple. While at the Temple he frequently attended the debates in the English House of Commons, and took down in writing the speeches of Lord Chatham, whose eloquence he greatly admired, and whom he adopted as a model. It was at this time he wrote the well-known 'Character of Lord Chatham.'

Mr. Grattan was called to the Irish bar in 1772. In 1775 he was returned to Parliament for the town of Charlemont. He sat for that place until 1790, when he was returned for Dublin. In 1797 he declined offering himself for re-election. In 1800 he was returned for Wicklow borough to oppose the Union. In 1805 he entered the Imperial Parliament as representative of the borough of Malton, in Yorkshire. In 1806 he was once more induced to stand for Dublin, which city he continued to represent until 1820. Although suffering under severe illness, and against the advice of his physicians, he went

over to press the Catholic claims on the new Parliament of 1820; but the journey was too much for his advanced years and impaired constitution; and he expired in London on June 4, 1820, aged 74. Mr. Grattan's career may be best read in the history of his country. In recognition of his great public services, the Irish Parliament unanimously voted him a grant of 100,000*l.*, on May 27, 1782, to purchase an estate and erect a mansion-house, but he would accept only 50,000*l.* and it was reduced accordingly.

APPENDIX XXI.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

DANIEL O'CONNELL was born at Carhen, near Cahircivan in Kerry, in 1775. He was educated partly at the Jesuit's College at St. Omer's and partly at the English College of Douai. When he was leaving the College of St. Omer's in 1792, the president, Dr. Stapylton, wrote of him, 'I never was so mistaken in my life as I shall be unless he be destined to make a remarkable figure in society.' He was called to the Irish Bar in 1798, and immediately became distinguished in his profession. O'Connell's first appearance in public life was at a meeting of the Catholics, held on January 13, 1800, in the Royal Exchange, Dublin, to petition against the proposed Act of Union. He laboured untiringly as a leading member of the Catholic Committee, devoting much of his time to its affairs, notwithstanding the heavy claims of his large professional practice. He tells us himself that for more than twenty years before Emancipation the burden of the cause was thrown upon him. He had 'to arrange the meetings, to prepare the resolutions, to furnish replies to the correspondence, to rouse the torpid, to animate the lukewarm, to control the violent and the inflammatory, to avoid the shoals and breakers of the law, to guard against multiplied treachery, and at all times to oppose, at every peril, the powerful and multitudinous enemies of the cause.' The Clare election, and his great triumph in achieving the emancipation of his Catholic fellow-subjects, have already been described in the text.[1] He took his seat for Clare in May 1829, and very soon became one of the leading debaters in the House of Commons. For many years his power over the Irish people was that of an uncrowned monarch. Wherever he went thousands assembled to

[1] Chapter lxxvii.

greet him; a contribution from the whole country, called 'the O'Connell Tribute,' and ranging from 10,000*l.* up to 20,000*l.* a year, was annually presented to him; and the parliamentary representatives of nearly all the liberal constituencies were elected on his nomination. The Duke of Wellington said of him that he was the most powerful subject of the Crown in modern times. He set on foot an agitation for the repeal of the Union, which reached its height in the year 1843. At this period he held 'monster meetings' at Tara, Clontarf, and other places remarkable in Irish history. The Clontarf meeting was prohibited by proclamation in October 1843, and O'Connell and several of his followers were arrested and tried for conspiracy and sedition. After a protracted trial he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, and a fine of 2,000*l.*; but, on appeal to the House of Lords, the sentence was reversed, and O'Connell and the other prisoners were liberated. From this period his health declined, and, on his way to Rome on a pilgrimage of devotion, he died at Genoa, on May 15, 1847. Mr. O'Connell's life like that of Mr. Grattan, is for many years interwoven in the history of his country.

APPENDIX XXII.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

Trinity College, the University of Dublin, was founded by Queen Elizabeth, and was opened in the buildings of the dissolved monastery of All Hallows on January 9, 1593. The following particulars of its foundation are given by Sir James Ware:—

'Trinity Colledge, by Dublin, which was founded by Queene Elizabeth, 3 Martii, 1591. The 13 of the same moneth, its first stone was laid by Thomas Smyth, the Mayor of Dublin, and the 9 of Jan. 1593 it first admitted students.'

The constitution of Trinity College has ever been exclusively Protestant, which has made it virtually the University of only a small minority.

On August 3, 1869, Mr. Fawcett moved in the House of Commons 'That, in the opinion of this House, those who are not members of the Established Church cannot be placed in a position of equality with regard to University education in Ireland until all the Fellowships and

Scholarships of Trinity College, Dublin, are freed from all religious disabilities.'

Immediately on the motion being made, Dr. Ball, the Member for the University, arose and stated that in consequence of a communication made to him by the Board of Trinity College, to the effect that whereas on former occasions they did petition in opposition to the motion of the hon. member for Brighton, they do, on the present occasion, feel it their duty not to petition against it or oppose it.

On this announcement the motion was withdrawn at the suggestion of the Chief Secretary for Ireland; and it is likely that after the land question is disposed of the whole subject of University education in Ireland will engage the attention of Parliament.

Subjoined are interesting returns relating to Trinity College.[1]

Revenues of Trinity College, Dublin, for the Year 1866.

Note.—*By the Statutes of the College, the Financial Year ends on the 20th day of November.*

I.—Revenue derived from the Crown.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Gross rental of estates granted by Queen Elizabeth and King James I. . .				38,196	9	0
DEDUCTIONS.						
Quit rents . . .	220	16	2			
Tithe rent-charge . . .	2,979	4	2			
Poor rates . . .	1,027	4	10			
Local agents' fees, and county cess . .	150	6	11			
New roads and other local expenditure .	2,218	17	3			
Schools and local charities .	230	0	0			
				6,826	9	4
Net Revenue derived from the Crown . . .				31,369	19	8

[1] Return to Two orders to the House of Commons, June 27 and 28, 1867.

II.—Revenue derived from other sources.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1. Gross rental of Estate bequeathed by Provost Baldwin, City Estate, Louth, Longford, and Queen's County Estates	5,949	12	6			
Renewal fines on ditto	24	13	9			
	5,974	6	3			
DEDUCTIONS.						
Quit and chief rents	138	15	8			
Tithe rent-charge	256	18	8			
Poor rates	200	1	10			
Local agency fees	37	3	1			
Schools and local charities	73	0	0			
	705	19	3			
				5,268	7	0
2. Dividends on government stock, and other interest	.	.	.	885	13	10
3. Entrance fees and decrements paid by students	.	.	.	11,832	18	9
4. Fees on degrees and testimoniums	.	.	.	2,731	7	0
5. Registration of University electors	300	0	0			
Deduct poundage to registrar	15	0	0			
				285	0	0
6. Rent of college chambers	1,836	12	3			
Deduct cost of painting and repairs	812	1	6			
				1,026	10	9
7. Fines for neglect of duties, repayment of advances for printing books, and other contingent receipts	.	.	.	467	7	4
Net Revenue from other sources	.	.	.	22,497	4	8

Summary.

	Gross.			Net.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Revenue derived from the Crown	38,196	9	0	31,369	19	8
Revenue from other sources	24,030	5	5	22,497	4	8

Explanatory Remarks on the foregoing Return.

1. The net amount of revenue, as shown in the above summary, was further reduced by the following charges during the past year :—

	£	s.	d.
1. Repairs and maintenance of public buildings, &c.	1,619	12	7
2. Local taxes on public buildings, &c.	1,472	8	11
3. Pensions and charities	1,253	9	7
	4,345	11	1

2. In the year 1866, there was received from benefactions, of which the college is the trustee, the sum of 1,832*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*, which sum was expended in conformity with the will of the donors, with an addition of 509*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* from the college funds.

3. In the annual balance sheet of the college accounts, certified by the auditors, and signed by the visitors of the college, the gross revenue for the year 1866 exceeds that given above by the sum of 1,790*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* This difference arises from two causes; the former account includes the amount of benefactions just mentioned (1,832*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*), of which the college is only the trustee; but, on the other hand, it gives only the actual rent received within the year, which did not amount to the full year's rent; whereas the latter gives the full annual rental. With these exceptions, the auditors' account of revenue agrees with that given above.

4. The above summary of the revenue derived from the Crown does not include the Provost's Estate, the gross rental of which is about 1,900*l.* This rental is subject to considerable deductions, the amount of which cannot be accurately ascertained, in consequence of the recent demise of the late holder of the office, in whose hands all the accounts were kept.

5. The fees received from their pupils by the nineteen members of the tutorial body of the college, under the head of tuition fees, are not included in the above return, as they are collected by an officer nominated by the tutors themselves, and do not enter into the accounts of the college. The amount of these fees in the year 1866 was 10,300*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*

6. The income tax deducted by the college tenants has not been included among the deductions from the gross rental of the estates, as it is deducted from the salaries paid by the college.

(Signed) JOSEPH CARSON, D.D., Bursar.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

Return showing the number of resident and of non-resident undergraduates on the books, and who appeared at the last terminal examination; and the number of undergraduate students who have kept their terms during the last academic year.

Undergraduates who kept terms during the last academic year .	1,218
Resident undergraduates	568
Non-resident undergraduates	488
Appeared at last term examination	399

Note.—As no separate lists are kept of resident and of non-resident students, I have been obliged, in making out the above return, to consider every student as non-resident for any term in which he was absent from one-fourth of the lectures of his class.

In order to account for the apparent discrepancy between the first total (1,218) and the sum of the two subsequent totals, it is to be observed that the number of students on the books is less at the end of Trinity Term, just before the summer vacation, than at any other period of the year. It may be added, that the number of students who attend the examination in Trinity Term is much less than in the other terms.

There is also a very large number of graduate students who have kept terms by attendance on lectures in divinity, law, medicine, and civil engineering, and who are not included in this return.

(Signed) ANDREW S. HART, LL.D., Senior Lecturer.

INDEX.

ABSENCE of the Sovereigns from Ireland, 293, 333
„ frequent, of the Lords Deputies, 242, 333
Absentees, 118, 119
Absenteeism, commencement of, 258
„ how the middle class is injuriously affected by, 379
Accumulation, the effective desire of, 173
„ „ results of, in England, 172
„ „ illustrated in London, 172
„ „ backward in Ireland, 174
Accumulations of the Irish in America, 175
Acre, proportion of plantation, to statute, 302
Agents, non-resident, Judge Longfield on, 118
Agistment, tithe of, 347
Agitation the result of want of employment, 177
Agriculture of England, generally, 121
„ of Ireland, generally, 121
„ geology of Ireland, as bearing on her agriculture, 65
„ of England suffers from want of drainage, 90
„ of Ireland suffers very much from want of drainage, 90
„ Sir Robert Peel on backward state of English, in 1850, 202
„ large outlay by landlords on English, 171
„ state of Irish, at the commencement of the present land system, in 1727, 332, 333
„ the people of Ireland thrown exclusively on, by former trade restrictions, 37
„ benefits to, from an admixture of manufactures, 37
„ present aspect of Irish, 121
„ contrast of Irish with English, 121
„ of Ulster favourably contrasts with that of the rest of Ireland, 121
„ what turnip culture has effected for English, 126
„ marked decrease of turnip culture in Irish, 125
„ what turnip culture might effect for Irish, 125
„ an increase of live stock in a state of nature, without an adequate culture of root crops, is not agriculture, 126
„ statistics of live stock and root crops in Ireland, 125

Agriculture, increase of live stock without agriculture, in the pampas and prairies, 126
„ fixed capital of, found by landlord in England, 114, 115
„ floating capital of, only, found by tenant in England, 114, 115
„ fixed and floating capital of, both found by tenant in Ireland, 114–116
„ leases essential to an improved system of, in England, 230
„ in England, good where leases, inferior where no leases, 229–232
„ of England ought not to be neglected on account of her supremacy in manufactures, 224
„ of Belgium, 128
„ of Norfolk, 126
„ of the Lothians, 200
„ of Belgium superior to that of Norfolk and the Lothians, 134
„ of Rhenish Prussia, 135
„ of the Kingdom of Saxony, 136
„ results of increased expenditure of capital on, 215–221
„ a fourfold increase of gross produce resulting from a fourfold increase of capital embarked in, 219
„ proportions in which this increased produce is distributed, in rent, wages, and profit, 220
„ the soil permanently enriched by superior, 220, 228
„ no more remunerative outlay of fixed capital than in, 220
„ complete security essential to this outlay being made, 110–113
„ the chief industry of man, 228
„ differs from manufactures in one important particular, 228
„ capital of fertilization in, 228
„ good, the interest of the whole community, 222
„ good, incompatible with tenancy-at-will, 229–232
„ improved, ought to be the care of Government, 222
„ a Board of, under a Cabinet Minister desirable, 222
„ in Ireland, Arthur Young on, 57, 114, 115
„ „ Mr. Wakefield on, 57
„ „ Mr. Caird on, 57, 114, 115
„ „ 'The Saxon in Ireland' on, 122
„ „ Mr. Blacker's ideas on, 216
„ „ his plan of improved, 217
„ „ his experience that the produce of, might be threefold increased, 217
„ „ his preference of the Belgian system for, 217
„ „ his ideas on capital embarked in, 217
Agricultural class, numbers of the, in England and Wales and Ireland respectively, 182–184
„ „ proportionally less in Ireland than in England and Wales, 184
Agricultural labourers, place of, supplied in England, to some extent, by machinery, 202
„ „ want of, in England in harvest time, 201
„ „ number of, in Ireland insufficient, 205
„ „ supply of Irish, to England greatly diminished, 174, 201

Agricultural labourers, condition of, neglected in Ireland, 208
" " care of, on some estates in England, 210, 212
" " small gardens for, 210, 212
" " advantages of this system, 212
" " the comforts of, ought to be provided for, even from economic motives, 211
Agricultural holdings, number and classification of, 100–103
" " See Holdings
Agricultural industry, in England, in the ratio of security of tenure, 229
" " in England, least where no leases, 229
" " leases essential to full development of, in England, 230, 231
Agricultural occupiers, number of, in England and Wales, 99
" " Ireland, 99
" " Belgium, 134
" " Rhenish Prussia, 136
" " Kingdom of Saxony, 136
" " of 15 acres and under in Ireland, 101
" " of over 15 acres in Ireland, 101
" " to each proprietor in England and Wales and Ireland respectively, 99
Agricultural production of Ireland might be doubled, 208
Agricultural progress, Ireland below all the other countries in the scale of, 137
Agricultural statistics of England, how collected, 57
" " of Ireland, how collected, 56
Agricultural wages in England, 205
" " in Ireland, 204
" " why not higher in Ireland, 206
Allen, bog of, 72
America, coal-fields and coal statistics of, 425
" benefits of Irish immigration to, 143
" success of Irish in, 175, 177
" generous aid to sufferers in Irish famine by, 383
" great future of, 425
American war of independence, 329 *note*
" civil war, effects of, on our cotton supply, 15
Annual tenancies, the great proportion of farms in England held by, 113, 230
" the rule in Ireland, leases the exception, 109, 113
Appellate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords usurped by the British House, 353
" contest thereon, 353–356
Aqueous agency, effects of, on the earth's surface, 68
Arable land, area of, in England and Wales, 98, 214
" " in Scotland, 98, 214
" " in Ireland, 98, 214
" " in Belgium, 131
" " in Rhenish Prussia, 135
" " in Kingdom of Saxony, 136
" " occupied by holders of 15 acres and under in Ireland, 100, 102

Arable land, area of, occupied by holders of over 15 acres in Ireland, 100, 102
„ „ average, owned by each proprietor in England and Wales, 98
„ „ average, owned by each proprietor in Ireland, 98
Area of England and Wales, total, 182, 214
„ „ under crops and grass, 182, 214
„ Ireland, total, 57, 182, 214
„ „ under crops, grass, bog and waste, 57, 182, 214
„ Scotland, total, 214
„ „ under crops and grass, 214
Arigna Ironworks, 424
Arkwright, Richard, inventor of the spinning-frame, 17
Austria, coal-fields and coal statistics of, 428

Ballot, vote by, essential to the settlement of the Irish land question, 418
Banks earning large dividends by farmers' deposits in Ireland, 158
„ aggregate amount of deposits in Irish, 157
Bargy and Forth, Baronies of, co. Wexford, 193
„ industry and prosperity of, 194, 195
„ causes thereof, 195
„ 'Times' Commissioner on, 194
Baronets, institution of, 264, 449
Bavaria, coal-fields and coal statistics of, 429
Basaltic formation, 74
Belgium, area of arable land in, 131
„ area worked by tenants, 131
„ area in hands of proprietors, 131
„ alive with agricultural industry, 132
„ agriculture of, superior to that of Norfolk and the Lothians, 134
„ coal-fields and coal statistics of, 426
„ cultivators in, number of, 131
„ „ number to 500 acres of arable land, 132
„ „ number of, to 500 acres, three times as great as in Ireland, 132
„ holdings, number and average size of, in, 131
„ leases in, 132
„ outgoing tenant bound to leave the land fully cropped, 133
„ „ fully compensated for his outlay, 133
„ „ no disputes, arbitration if necessary, 133
„ perfection of the garden system in, 129
„ Pays de Waes, 129
„ peasantry, houses and clothing of, in, 129
„ poverty, little to be seen in, 130
„ soil of, originally sterile, now most fertile, 128, 129
Bessborough, Earl of, estate of, county of Waterford, 196
„ small holdings signally successful, 198
„ good management, 197
„ 'Times' Commissioner thereon, 196
Bishoprics of the Established Church, before and after 1834, 390, 391
Blacker, Mr., his ideas on Irish agriculture, 216

Blacker, Mr., proves that the produce of Ireland might be threefold increased, 217
Bogs of Ireland, 11, 72, 79
„ formation of the, 79
„ area, site, and elevation of the, 72, 79
„ human and animal remains found in the, 79
„ ornaments and utensils found in the, 79
Boulder formation, 66, 72
„ clay, 72
Boulter's, Primate, fund, 392
Breadstuffs imported into Ireland, 223
„ „ the United Kingdom, 223
Brehon laws, 235
Breton, Cape, and Nova Scotia, coal statistics of, 432
Brigade, the Irish, 297
Bright, Mr., his enlightened views and great public services, 405
„ his plan of a peasant proprietary, 419
Brown, Dr. Jemmett, Lord Bishop of Cork, and the penal laws, 327
„ memory of, long revered in Cork, 327

Caird, Mr., on Ireland, in 1849, 58
„ „ in 1869, 402
„ proposed remedies on the land question, 414
Campbell, Doctor, on the suppression of the Irish woollen manufacture, 30
Canals, Royal and Grand, 85
Cant of tithes in Ireland, 350
Capital, alleged want of, in Ireland, 147
„ commencement of, 147, 148
„ definition of, 148
„ fixed, 150
„ floating, 151
„ is being constantly consumed and reproduced, 149
„ of a country, how constituted, 149
„ „ must be created by that country itself, 155
„ „ is in the ratio of its labour productively employed, 156
„ „ another country will not supply it, 155
„ would a gift of 10,000,000*l.* from England to Ireland be used as? 156
„ the inhabitants of a country may possess a large amount of wealth, which is not capital to that country, 159
„ the result of saving, 169
„ the only fund from which wages are furnished, 148
„ cannot be increased or kept in existence, unless employed as the wages of labour, 149
„ want of, expended in agriculture in Ireland, 114
„ fixed, found by landlord, and floating, by tenant, in England, 114, 115
„ both fixed and floating, must be found by tenant in Ireland, 114-116
„ creation of, by cottiers in 1766, 160
„ „ 1837-1865, 163
„ existing bars to the creation and free use of, in Ireland, 164
„ „ removal of these, what Ireland wants, 166

Case of Ireland, by Molyneux, 356
Castleacre farm, Norfolk, 215
Castle Chamber, 279
Catholic disabilities. See Ireland and Penal Laws
„ chapels formerly hidden away in remote places and the back lanes of towns, 343
„ priest, the Irish, 375
„ „ his interference in politics, 375
„ Association, 371
„ emancipation, 372
„ 'rent,' 371
„ feeling on the Church Bill of 1869, 399
Catholics and the Maynooth Grant, 394
„ „ how dealt with in Church Bill of 1869, 399
„ first allowed the Parliamentary franchise, 330
„ „ to enter Parliament, 372
„ „ to enter municipal corporations, 376
„ proportion of, to Protestants in Ireland in 1727, 281
„ „ in 1861, 395
Cattle, export by Ireland to England stopped in 1663, 34
„ contribution of, by Ireland for relief of sufferers by the Fire of London, 35
„ „ how misconstrued, 35
„ exports of, to England, 53
„ increase of, in a state of nature, no proof of agricultural progress, 126
„ shows no criterion of general agricultural prosperity, 6
Cavour, Count, on Ireland, 396
Cereals, decrease of, in Ireland since 1851, 403
Chalk soils the lowest, and New Red Sandstone the highest, rented in England, 76
Chalk of Antrim, underlying the trap rock, 77
Chancellor of the Exchequer, how interested in the Irish question, 139
Church Temporalities Act of 1834, 391
„ Commission of 1867, 393
„ Act of 1869, 397
„ „ provisions of, 397–399
„ „ commissioners under, 397
„ „ commutation under, 398
„ capitalized revenues of, value of, 399
„ „ how to be distributed, 399
Clare, Lord, on the suppression of the Irish woollen manufacture, 31
„ election of 1828 and its results, 372
Clay-slate, soils of, 73
„ contains much of the mineral wealth of Ireland, 73
Clays, London and plastic, 66
Clearing system, 209, 384
Clergy of Established Church of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries described, 282
„ of our times, how esteemed and respected, 400
„ life interests of, preserved, 398

Climate of Ireland, 88
„ and soil favourable to green crops, 4, 59–64, 125
„ renders drainage necessary, 88
Coal and mineral production of Great Britain and Ireland compared, 7
„ districts in Ireland, 9
„ „ Ballycastle, 9
„ „ Coal Island, 10
„ „ Connaught, 10
„ „ Leinster, 10
„ „ Monaghan, 10
„ „ Munster, 11
„ „ Tipperary, 11
„ ancient Irish, mines, 10
„ anthracite, 9
„ bituminous, 9
„ quantity raised in Ireland, 11
„ imported from Great Britain, 11
„ quantity raised in Great Britain, 12, 13
„ exports of Great Britain, 14
„ annual consumption of, in Great Britain, 14
„ production of principal producing countries, 12
„ Great Britain favourably circumstanced as regards, 13
„ areas of several countries, approximate estimate of, 425
„ percentage cost of, in cotton and woollen manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland compared, 22
„ effects of the presence of, on manufacturing industry, 22
„ cost of, for manufacturing purposes, at Rouen, 22
„ „ „ at St. Petersburg, 430
„ and wood both used for manufacturing purposes in Russia, 430
„ „ engines on the Warsaw line, 430
„ requirements of foreign, by France for manufacturing purposes, 21
Coal-fields, distribution of British, 13
„ of America, United States, 425
„ of Austria, 428
„ of Bavaria, 429
„ of Belgium, 426
„ of British India, 432
„ of England and Wales, 13
„ of France, 427
„ of Ireland, 9
„ of Labuan, 433
„ of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, 432
„ of New South Wales, 431
„ of Prussia, 425
„ of Saxony, 429
„ of Scotland, 13
„ of Spain, 430
„ of Russia, 430
Coal measures of Pennsylvania, 426
„ of Pittsburg, 426

Coal measures washed away from Ireland, 76
„ almost all the iron mined in England is found in the, 14
Coin and livery, 249, 250
Coke of Norfolk, Earl of Leicester, 126
„ his great improvements in agriculture, 126
„ money results thereof, 127
„ industrial and moral effects thereof, 127
Collops and mountain grazing, 342
Commercial treaty, France sends us much more manufactures than we send her, under, 225
„ imports from Great Britain into France before and after, 225
„ exports from France to Great Britain, 225
„ recently complained of by the French, 226 *note*
Compensation to outgoing tenant in Belgium, 133
Conacre described, 341
„ its foundation, 340
„ bad effects of, 341, 342
Condition of peasantry, 1829 to 1846, 378
„ 1845, 380
Confederation of Kilkenny, 289
Confederates forced by Government to join the rebellion of 1641, 287
„ conclude peace with Ormond, 291
Confiscations in Ireland, unexampled—a class in themselves, 253
„ condemned by all writers, 253
„ promoted by sowing dissentions, on the part of Government, 253
„ promoted by attempts, on the part of Government, to compel the Irish to adopt the new creed against their convictions, 254
„ 'The more rebels the more confiscations,' 254
„ of Leix and Offalie, now Queen's and King's Counties, under Edward VI., 254
„ the lands cleared by force of arms, on this occasion, 255
„ distribution of the lands of Leix and Offalie, left to the discretion of the Lord Deputy, 256
„ in Ulster, on Shane O'Neill's rebellion, in 1568, under Elizabeth, 257
„ of the Earl of Desmond's estates, and those of one hundred and fifty other proprietors, in 1586, under Elizabeth, 257
„ undertakers in reign of Elizabeth, 258
„ crown rents reserved on confiscated estates, 258
„ 'Irish and Papists to be divorced from all ownership of the soil,' 254
„ avowed and acted on, as the policy of Government, 254
„ of the estates of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, six counties of Ulster, under James I., in 1606, 262
„ of estates in the three other provinces, attempted by James I., 267
„ general ejectment on the title proposed, 267
„ discoverers engaged in the work, their iniquitous proceedings, 268
„ packing, and intimidating of juries for this purpose, 275
„ estates thus forfeited in the eastern and midland counties, 269

Confiscations: all Connaught and county of Clare claimed for the king (James I.), 269
„ scandalous proceedings in connexion therewith, 269
„ 10,000,000 acres of profitable land assumed by the British Parliament to be forfeited by the rebellion of 1641, 288
„ 2,500,000 acres thereof appropriated to payment of the expenses of suppressing the rebellion, 288
„ under the Commonwealth, 314, 315
„ under William III., 317
„ summary of final results of all the confiscations in statute acres, 315
„ opinion of Dean Swift on the gross injustice inflicted on the Catholics thereby, 313
Consolidation of holdings, 190–192
„ „ synopsis of, at several periods, 1841 to 1868, 192
Convent schools, lace work of children at, 46
Corn and cattle ought to increase together, rather by improved culture than by increased breadth under cereals, 222
Corn, imports of, into United Kingdom, 223
„ into Ireland, 223
Cork, great provision trade of, formerly, 339
„ harbour, its capacity and other great natural advantages, 82
„ the Irish naval station, 82
„ the American packet station, 83
Cosherings, Coigny, 'Spend me and defend me,' 442
Cottiers, condition of, formerly better than in our times, 378
„ inner life of, described by an English M.P., 349
„ sufferings of, from the tithe system, 348–350, 376
Cotton manufacture of Great Britain, 15
„ of Ireland, 44, 45
„ imports of Great Britain, 15
„ effect of American civil war on, 16
„ supply, far short of requirements, 16
„ factories, in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, in 1868, 45
Cromwell. See Ireland.
Crompton, Samuel, invention of the mule-jenny, 16
Cultivators, number of, in England and Wales, Ireland, Belgium, Rhenish Prussia, and kingdom of Saxony, respectively, 137
„ average number of, to 500 acres of arable land, in each of these countries, 137
„ number of, in Norfolk and the Lothians no rule for Ireland, 200
„ proportionally less in Ireland than in England and Wales, 184
„ strange theory that 500,000 are sufficient for Ireland, 186, 200
Culture, results of improved, 215–221

Dacca muslins, 433
Davies, Sir John, 236
De Beaumont on the Church in Ireland, 396
Declaration of Rights, 360–365
Deltas, 438

Deluge, marks of an universal, 68
Denudation, valleys of, 68
Depletion, an extreme remedy, carried too far in Ireland, 207
Depopulation of Ireland, 123
„ of the country towns and villages, 124
„ as seen in an excursion through the South of Ireland, 123
Deputies and justices, Lords, bad rule of, 242
„ Lords, frequent absence of, 242
Depth of mines, 438
Dettingen, battle of, 297
Devon Commission, 108 *note*
Distress, law of, ought to be abolished, 418
Distribution of the increased produce of improved farming, 219
Distrust, mutual, between landlords and tenants in Ireland, 119
Drainage, great want of, in Ireland, 88–91
„ would greatly improve the climate, 88
„ bad results of want of, 88–91
„ great want of, in England, 90
„ importance of, not realized by Government, landlords, or tenants, in the United Kingdom, 90
„ effects of, on the soil, and on plants, 90
„ arterial, the work of Government, 91, 92, 96
„ arterial, much needed but much neglected in Ireland, 91
„ sub-arterial, 92
„ amount expended under the Acts, 91
„ Government works on the Shannon, 93
„ floods and saturation resulting therefrom, 95
„ Mr. Lynam's report thereon, 93
„ what is required, 92
Drapier's Letters, 356
Drift, erratic block group, or boulder formation, 66, 72
Dufferin, Lord, on the numbers required for agriculture in Ireland, 186, 200

Earth's surface, rocks composing the, 65
„ changes on the, 67, 68
Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the late, in Ireland, 392
„ revenue of, 392
„ how distributed, 392
Ecclesiastical Courts, abolished from January 1, 1871, 397
Effective desire of accumulation, 173
Elastic Factories in United Kingdom in 1868, 49
Elizabeth, Queen. See Ireland, and Confiscations
Emancipation, Catholic, in 1829, 372
„ George III. opposed to, 370
Emigration from Ireland, full particulars of, 141
Emigrant, interesting letter of an Irish, 178
Emigrants, total numbers of, 144
„ numbers of, at different periods, 143, 144
„ ages of, 144
„ money remittances from, to Ireland, 175

Emigrants, proportion of passages prepaid by, for friends in Ireland, 175
Employment of the people consulted for by wise rulers, 177
„ prevents agitation, 178
„ striking case in point, 178
Encroachments of the sea, 68
England and Wales compared with Ireland. See several heads
England, people of, the Irish question now taken up by the, 1
„ munificent contributions of, to Ireland in the famine years, 383
„ great power of the, resulting from Parliamentary Reform, 406
England a market for Ireland's agricultural produce, 4, 81
„ would readily absorb her produce if doubled, 4, 81
Ensignmen, 307
Errors to be guarded against in studying the Irish question, 5, 6
Eskers, 72
Estates, average size of, in England and Wales and Ireland respectively, 98
„ Courts, Incumbered and Landed, statistics of, 386
Evictions in Ireland, 384
Exchequer, Barons of the, committed to the custody of the Black Rod, by the Irish House of Peers, 355
Exodus, full particulars of the, down to July 31, 1869, 141
„ why so called, 142
„ much worse, because an economic necessity, 141
„ effects of the, seen in an excursion through the South of Ireland, 123
Explanation, the Act of, 311
Exports, declared real value of, of British and Irish manufactured articles, from ports of Great Britain and Ireland, 54

Factories, particulars of, of all kinds, for spinning and weaving, in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively, under the Factories Acts, in 1868, 50
„ the same of cotton factories, 45
„ „ elastic factories, 49
„ „ felt factories, 49
„ „ flax factories, 43
„ „ hemp factories, 49
„ „ horsehair factories, 49
„ „ hosiery factories, 49
„ „ jute factories, 49
„ „ lace factories, 50
„ „ linen factories, 43
„ „ poplin and silk factories, 46, 48
„ „ woollen and worsted factories, 33
Famine of 1847, 381
„ effects of, 384
„ expansion of Poor Law to meet, 383
„ Government measures, public works, to relieve, 383
„ national and individual benevolence, 383
„ contributions of foreign countries, 383

Famine of 1847, Society of Friends, 384
Farms, average size of, in England and Wales, 105
„ „ in Ireland, 105
„ opinions and evidence on suitable size of, 189–192
„ system of small, best suited to Ireland, 187
„ „ has not yet had a fair trial in Ireland, 106
„ mistaken disposition of land agents in England to abolish small, 191
„ success of small, in baronies of Forth and Bargy, 193
„ „ on Lord Bessborough's estate, 196
„ synopsis of consolidation of, at different periods, 192
Farmers, number of, in England and Wales and Ireland respectively, 104
„ average number to each landed proprietor, in each country, 99
„ total value of live stock and crops of all farmers of 15 acres and under in Ireland, and the same of all farmers of over 15 acres, 187–189
„ average value per acre of each, 189
„ small, the most valuable economic element in Ireland, 189
Farming, large, near Londonderry, 122
Felt factories in United Kingdom in 1868, 49
Fertility, natural, of Ireland, 58–64
„ acquired, of Norfolk, 127
„ acquired, of Belgium, 128, 129
Fitz Gibbon, Master, on mountain improvement, 164
„ remedy suggested by, with reference to the land question, 407
Fixity of tenure, 417
Flax, increase of the manufacture in Ireland the last six years, 42
„ Ireland in advance of England and Scotland in the manufacture, 42
„ supply, importance of, to Ireland, 38, 43
„ annual production of, in Ireland, 39, 40
„ annual consumption of, in Ireland, 39
„ home-grown, required in Ireland, 39
„ foreign, too dear, 39
„ soil of Ireland most suitable to growth of, in many parts, 39
„ area of land under, in Ireland, 40
„ same, in each provice, 42
„ falling off in area under, in Ireland, 41
„ remarkable falling off of acreable produce in Ireland, 40
„ supply of home-grown, not much more than one-half of requirements, 39
„ largely increased growth of, outside of Ulster required, 43
„ tenants at will won't extensively grow, 43
„ Government grants for instructors in culture of, 41
„ scutching mills, number of, 42
„ supply, its bearing on the land question, 44
„ factories in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, 43
Flax Extension Association of Belfast, laudable efforts of, 41
„ „ admirable code of instructions of, 41
„ „ monthly markets established by, 41
Force, gradually elevating, altering the earth's surface, 68
Foreign trade, Ireland formerly debarred from, 34–36
Forty-shilling freeholders described, 373

Forty-shilling freeholders, Catholics first admitted to be, 330
„ of the Kingston estates, anecdote of, 374
Forth and Bargy, baronies of, 193
France, coal-fields and coal statistics of, 427
„ imports of coal by, for manufacturing purposes, 21
„ import and export trade of, with England, before and since the Commercial treaty, 225
„ great increase of exports of woollen goods to Great Britain, 225, 226
„ recently complains of the Commercial Treaty, 226 *note*
Freeman's Journal Church Commission, 396
Free trade, Irish, carried in 1782, 359
French exports of manufactures to England, 225
French imports of manufactures from England, 225

Gain, man's inborn love of, 173
Garrison of 600,000 farmers, secure of their holdings, 418
Gavel-kind and tanistry, 239
Geology of Ireland, as bearing on her agriculture, 65
George II., remarks of, on the Irish at the battle of Dettingen, 297
„ the last English sovereign taking part in a battle, 297 *note*
Giant's Causeway, 74
Gingham balls, 52
Giraldus Cambrensis, 436
Gladstone, statesmanship of Mr., 405
Glass manufacture, formerly suppressed in Ireland, 36
Gneiss, 66
Golden Vale, cause of the fertility of, 70
Graces, Charter of, 272
„ fraudulently withheld, 273
Granite rocks, 66
„ soils, 74
„ four, districts in Ireland, 74
„ works, 439
Grattan, Henry, 360, 371, 449
„ biography of, 449
„ great public services of, 360–365
Gravel and sand in Ireland, 70
Graziers, account of, 338
„ free from tithes, 347, 349
„ avoid tillage, 339
„ tempted to try tillage by low rate of wages, 342
„ large holdings of, 339
„ favourable takes by, 338
Great Britain, at the top of the list of coal-producing countries, 12
„ stands alone, in the first rank, as a manufacturing country, 14
„ ought not, on this account, to neglect the full development of her agriculture, 227
Gulf Stream, the, 4
„ influence of, on climate, 4
Gypsum found in Ireland, 75

Harbours of Ireland, 82
Hargreaves, invention of spinning-jenny by, 17
Hemp factories in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, in 1868, 49
Hearts of Steel, 358
Hedge schools, 343
High Commission Court, 278
Holdings, synopsis of average size of, in England and Wales, Ireland, Belgium, Rhenish Prussia, and the kingdom of Saxony, 137
„ in Ireland, classified, 101, 103
„ average size of, in each province of Ireland, 102
„ „ in England and Ireland respectively, 99
„ of small, the largest proportion in Ulster, 101
„ have small, had a fair trial in Ireland? 106
„ particulars of, of 15 acres and under, in Ireland, 101, 103
„ „ of over 15 acres, 101, 103
„ „ valued at and under 10*l.*, 101
„ „ valued at over 10*l.*, 101
„ little change in the number of, either in classes or in the aggregate, the last fifteen years, 192
„ generally small in manufacturing countries, 137
„ half-acre, of labourers increasing, 102
Holkham Heath, improvement of, by Mr. Coke, 126
Horsehair factories in United Kingdom, in 1868, 49
Hosiery factories in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, in 1868, 49

Improvements, what considered, in Ireland, 116
„ as a rule, effected only by the tenant in Ireland, 115, 116
Igneous agency, effects of, on earth's surface, 67, 68
Income tax, property and income assessed for, in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, 138, 139
„ the same, per head of the respective populations, 138
Incumbered Estates Act, 385
„ Court, statistics of, 386
„ „ purchasers under, 386
Independence of the Irish Parliament annihilated in 1719, 355
„ „ restored in 1782, 365
Indian, East, coal-fields and coal statistics, 432
„ coal, equal to only half the duty of English, 432
Industrial community, what constitutes the whole, 153
Industry, value of habits of, to a nation, 167
„ of Irish immigrants in foreign countries, 440
Institute of Science and Art a great want in Ireland, 47
Ireland, territorial division of, at time of invasion by Henry II., 233
„ settlements of Ostmen or Danes on the coasts of, 233
„ divided into five kingdoms, 233
„ the supreme monarch of, elective, 233
„ manners and customs of the early inhabitants of, 234
„ ancient laws of, wise and mild, 235

Ireland, ancient laws of, how they resembled our modern jurisprudence, 235, *note*
„ the Brehon laws of, described, 235
„ how administered, 235
„ inhabitants of, lovers of justice, 235
„ Sir John Davies's and Lord Coke's testimony to this effect, 236
„ the depository of the learning of Europe in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, 237
„ resorted to by foreigners, for education, 237
„ gratuitously supplied foreigners with food, books, and teachers, 237
„ long free from the incursions of the Northmen, which desolated the rest of Europe, 238
„ high rank of learned men in, formerly, 238
„ love of hospitality in, 238
„ public establishments and officers for dispensing hospitality in, 238
„ love of music in, 239
„ a pastoral nation, 239
„ tanistry and gavel-kind in, 239
„ same abolished by James I., 261
„ cosherings, coigny, and other Irish exactions, 261, 442
„ fixed rents substituted for same by James I., 261
„ inhabitants of, formerly worked in metals, 240
„ conquest of, commenced, 241
„ Henry II. lands in, 241
„ the Pale, 242
„ same extended by Sir Edward Bellingham, 255
„ the languid authority of England for centuries most injurious to, 242
„ habitual absence of Sovereigns from, 242
„ policy of rulers to prevent a fusion of the races in, 243
„ 'Divide and Rule,' the State maxim in, 246
„ the lords-deputies and lords-justices in, 242
„ the public good sacrificed to their private interests, 242
„ constant absence of the lords-deputies from, 242
„ the inhabitants of, for centuries, refused by the English to be admitted to participation in their laws and privileges, 243–245
„ the Statutes of Kilkenny enacted in this spirit, 243
„ bad effects thereof, 243
„ Sir John Davies and Mr. Hume thereon, 244, 245
„ the natives of, called the 'Irish enemy' in all the Statutes, for the first three centuries, 244
„ the English might kill the natives of, with impunity, 244
„ tendency of the Anglo-Irish or first settlers to unite with the natives of, 245
„ this tendency counteracted by Government, 245
„ the sowing of dissensions by Government in, 246
„ Viceroyalty of Sir John Perrot in, 246
„ his policy, in strong contrast with the general policy, 247
„ degeneracy of the natives of, under English rule, 247
„ wars of religion added to the wars of race in, 248
„ the Reformation introduced into, by Henry VIII., 248
„ Pope's supremacy abolished in, 248

Ireland, king declared head of the Church in, 248
„ first-fruits of all ecclesiastical livings in, given to the king, 248
„ rebellion of O'Moore and O'Connor, under Edward VI., 254
„ confiscations thereon. See Confiscations
„ reign of Elizabeth in, 249–252
„ confiscations by Elizabeth. See Confiscations
„ her large army in, 249
„ desolated by war, all through the reign of Elizabeth, 251
„ coin and livery, evils of, in, 250
„ war of Tyrone in, lasting fifteen years, 251
„ Elizabeth's death caused by this war, 251
„ loses one-half its inhabitants by war, famine, and pestilence, at this time, 252
„ rise in the prices of provisions, caused by the wars of Elizabeth in, 252 *note*
„ conquest of, completed by Elizabeth, 252
„ flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, 262
„ confiscations in Ulster. See Confiscations
„ plantation. See Plantation in Ulster
„ James I.'s claim of all Connaught and Clare, 269
„ all Catholic priests ordered to leave, under penalty of death, 1605, 260
„ assimilation of land tenure of Ireland with that of England in 1605, 260
„ all proprietors called on by James I. to surrender their estates to the Crown, to be received back with valid titles, 261
„ oppressions and extortions by the clergy of the Establishment in the reign of Charles I., 272
„ oppressions and extortions by the soldiery, 271
„ cruelties perpetrated by the lords-deputies and lords-justices, 271
„ army of Charles I. quartered on the counties, 272
„ Charter of Graces, 272
„ 120,000*l.* paid for same, 272
„ the Graces fraudulently withheld, 273
„ packing of the Parliament of 1634, 273
„ unprincipled conduct of Lord-Deputy Wentworth, 273
„ judges bribed to insure verdicts for the Crown, 275
„ juries fined and imprisoned who would not find for the Crown, 275
„ imprisonment, fine, and death of Sheriff Darcy, 276
„ Court of Wards, 277
„ High Commission Court, 278
„ Castle Chamber, 279
„ cruelties perpetrated therein, 279
„ Ecclesiastical Courts, 280
„ private prisons of the clergy, 281
„ tithe causes tried by the clergy, 281
„ Established clergy of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, description of, by cotemporaries, 282
„ contrasted with the Catholic clergy by Spenser, 284
„ bad rule of Lords-Justices Borlase and Parsons, 285
„ rebellion of 1641, 286

Ireland, loyalty of the Pale, 287
„ the Pale forced by Government to join the rebellion, 287
„ 'The more rebels, the more confiscations,' 288
„ 10,000,000 acres of profiable land assumed by the British Parliament to be forfeited by the rebellion of 1641, 288
„ 2,500,000 acres thereof appropriated to payment of the expenses of suppressing the rebellion, 288
„ estimated area of profitable land at this period, 289 *note*
„ vote of the British Parliament that the Popish religion should not be tolerated in his Majesty's dominions, 289
„ Cruel orders of the lords-justices to the army in the rebellion of 1641, 289
„ Confederation of Kilkenny, 289
„ its first act a dutiful address to the king, 290
„ Royal Commission appointed to treat with the Confederates, 291
„ peace concluded with the Confederates by Ormond, 291
„ Cromwell lands in, 292
„ his stay in, 292 *note*
„ his cruelties, 292
„ transportation of the natives to the West Indies, 293
„ desolation of, after the Cromwellian wars, 294
„ economic effects thereof, as described by Sir W. Petty, 293
„ 'the extermination of the Catholics and the possession of their estates' the object of Government at the time, 294
„ expatriation of Irish Catholics, 296
„ they enter foreign military service, 296
„ the numbers expatriated, 296
„ Cromwell's Parliamentary Commissioners, 298
„ his High Courts of Justice, 298
„ transplantation by Cromwell of all Irish and Catholics to Connaught and county of Clare, 299
„ surrender of their lands exacted from the transplanted, 301
„ division of the cleared lands among the soldiers, 302
„ all priests ordered out of, by Cromwell, 303
„ the natives re-enter on their lands and expel the intruders on the restoration of Charles II., 304
„ Charles anxious to extend toleration, but unable, 304
„ fidelity of the Irish to him in exile, 305
„ Catholics nearly all excluded from the Act of Indemnity, 304
„ declaration for the settlement of, in 1660, 305–309
„ Act of Settlement in 1662, 310
„ Act of Explanation in 1665, 311
„ execution of the Act of Settlement, 310
„ 'Innocent Papists,' 306
„ Nearly all the Catholics excluded by the qualifications of 'Innocency,' 309
„ the Protestants to be the first considered, their satisfaction being the chief object in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, 311
„ Court of Claims, 312
„ Cromwellian plot to seize Dublin Castle, 311
„ fund of reprizals very short, 312

Ireland, 3,400 Catholic proprietors' claims not heard, and they lose their estates for ever, 312
,, summary of distribution of lands, under Acts of Settlement and Explanation, in statute acres, 314
,, measures of toleration of Catholics of James II., 315
,, Viceroyalty of Clarendon, 316
,, ,, of Tyrconnel, 316
,, Catholics raised to the bench, and named of the Privy Council, 316
,, Tyrconnel's design of restoring the Catholics to their estates, 316
,, The Revolution precipitated thereby, 316
,, Treaty of Limerick, 317
,, its violation, 317, 318
,, 10,000 Irish soldiers enter the service of Louis XIV., 317
,, confiscations under William III., 317
,, outlawries ,, ,, 318
,, under the Penal Laws. See Penal Laws
,, social and economic state of, under William III., Anne, and George I., 330–335
,, usurpation of the appellate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords by the British House, 353
,, independence of the Irish Parliament annihilated by the British Act of 1719, 355
,, commencement of present land system of, 335
,, the tithe system in, 346–352, 376
,, Whiteboys, Levellers, and Hearts of Steel, 358
,, the Volunteers, 359, 363, 367
,, their meeting at Dungannon and resolutions, 363
,, free trade carried, in 1782, 359
,, Declaration of Rights, 360–365
,, independence of Irish legislature achieved in 1782, 365
,, rapid improvement resulting thence, 366
,, fatuity of the Irish Parliament, now free, in not emancipating the Catholics, 366
,, constitution of the Irish Parliament in 1793, 367
,, convention of Volunteers in Dublin, 367
,, the rebellion of 1798, 368
,, the Union 1800, 368
,, Articles of the Act of Union, 369
,, condition, political and social, of Ireland at the commencement of this century, 367
,, the same, from 1829 to 1846, 379
,, the forty-shilling freeholders, 373
,, the Catholic Association, 371
,, the Clare election, 372
,, Catholic Emancipation in 1829, 372
,, settlement of the tithe question in 1838, 377
,, Municipal Corporations Act in 1842, 376
,, the potato blight in 1846, 381, 382
,, the famine 1846–1847, 381, 382
,, the exodus, 141

Ireland, the Church Act of 1869, 397
„ elevation of the surface of, 75
„ coal districts of, 9
„ coal statistics of, 11
„ stands at the bottom of the list of coal-producing countries, 14
„ progress of, in manufactures the last six years, 51
„ new, across the Atlantic, 174
„ misgovernment of, by England, 177
„ new era of legislation for, commencing in 1869, 397
„ a garrison of 600,000 loyal men available for, 418
„ the disquiet of, the result of want of industrial employment, 180
Irish enemy, the, 244
„ Brigade, the, 297
„ Society, the London companies, 444
„ labourers at harvest work in England, 174
„ immigrants, success of, in various countries, 440
„ manufacture movements, 51
„ strong tendency of, to join their friends in America, 176
Irish in America, sympathy of, with friends at home, 175
„ interesting illustrative case of this, 176
„ proportion of passages prepaid by, 175
„ remittances to friends at home from, 175
Irishmen, expatriated, illustrious descendants of, 297
„ under favourable circumstances industrious, 174
Iron, nearly all, in Great Britain mined in the coal measures, 14
„ production of, in Great Britain, past and present, 15
„ extensively raised in Ireland formerly, 15

Jute Factories in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, in 1868, 49

Kilkenny, Statutes of, 243
Kingsale, case of Lord, in Cromwell's transplantation, 301
King's and Queen's Counties, why so called, 255
Kingstown Harbour, 439

Labour contributes by far the most largely to production, 146
„ the main source of all wealth, 146
„ supply, most abundant in Ireland, and nowhere less turned to account, 147
„ unevenly distributed in Ireland, 205, 209
„ insufficient in spring and harvest, 205
Labourers, condition of. See Agricultural labourer
„ Irish harvest, in England, 174
„ scarcity of, latterly, 174
Labuan, 433
Lace factories in United Kingdom in 1868, 50
„ work in convent schools in Ireland, 46
Lakes or loughs of Ireland, 83
Land improvement Acts, loans under, 89

Land, as defined by political economy, 145
,, difference of, from other property, 214
,, why God gave man the, 213
,, area of, in the hands of Protestants and Catholics respectively, at the final settlement under William III., 318
,, area of, total and arable, in the British Islands, and in each respectively, 98
,, letting system of Ireland, 97
,, same at the commencement of the eighteenth century, 335
,, systems of England and Wales and of Ireland examined in detail, 113–120
,, their points of difference set forth, 119
,, tenure of Ireland assimilated to that of England by James I., 260
,, question involves the interests not alone of landlords, tenants, and agricultural labourers, but of the whole community, 213
,, question, State interference in the, no contravention of the principles of political economy, 404
,, question, remedies proposed, 407
Landed Estates Court might be availed of to promote a system of peasant proprietors, 420
,, proprietors, number of, in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, 98
Landlords, former tyranny and extortion of, 336, 344, 345
,, non-residence of the wealthiest, 117
,, of Great Britain, wealthy, 119
,, ,, immense outlay by, in improvements, 171
,, of Ireland as a class poor, 117
,, ,, generally speaking, no improvements by, 115
,, Irish, why great numbers are unable to discharge the duties of property, 388
,, Irish, many, the victims of that bad system of which their forefathers were the instruments, 388
,, mutual distrust and want of co-oporation, generally speaking, between landlords and tenants in Ireland, 119
,, chief cause thereof, 388
Leases formerly general in Ireland, 109
,, withheld since 1829, and now the exception, 109
,, flaws in, formerly taken advantage of by landlords, 345
,, common error about 'long leases at low rents in Ireland' exposed, 338
,, essential to the agricultural prosperity of England, 229
,, Mr. Caird thereon, 230
,, Mr. Brown, author of the 'Book of the Landed Estate,' thereon, 231
,, the exception in Ireland, 109–111
,, general term of, in Ireland, 109
,, why tenants in Ireland sometimes refuse, 109
,, an extensive Irish land agent on, 416
,, mode of indirectly obliging landlords to grant, 415
Levellers, 358
Lias, 66
Lignite or wood-coal, 79
Lime as a manure, 80

Limestone found either in the rock, sand, or gravel, in every county in Ireland, 81
„ great central, plain of Ireland, 71
„ three varieties of, in Ireland, 72
„ upper or mountain, 73
„ middle or calp, 72
„ lowest, 72
„ mountain, why so called, 9
„ „ bears the existing coal measures, 9
Linen, extensive ancient use of, in Ireland, 24
„ trade promoted by Wentworth and Ormond, 25
„ „ much encouraged by government, 27, 37
„ „ importance of the settlement of the land question to the, 44
„ Board and mistaken system of bounties, 37
„ manufacture, modern history of the, 37, 38
„ factories in Ireland in 1862 and 1868, 42
„ „ in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, in 1868, 43
London, city of, takes part in the plantation of Ulster, 264
„ companies in the county of Londonderry, 444
Lough Neagh, legend of, 83
Loughs or lakes of Ireland, 83
Lucas, Charles, 356
Lynch, Doctor John, author of 'Cambrensis Eversus,' 435

'Magna Charta of the Protestants of Ireland,' 310
Manufactures, pre-eminence of Great Britain in, 14
„ ought not to lead her to neglect her agriculture, 227
„ foreign nations competing with Great Britain in, 224
„ of Great Britain more liable than foreign to suffer from strikes, 226
„ of Great Britain and Ireland. See Factories for spinning and weaving
„ „ no accurate statistics of value of, 53
„ „ declared value of exports of, 53–55
„ „ approximate estimate of total value of, 55
„ minerals, and coals of Great Britain and Ireland compared, 53–56
„ chiefly British and foreign, consumed in Ireland, 51
„ benefit of an admixture of, to agriculture, 37
„ not to be promoted by 'manufacture movements,' 51, 52
„ of United Kingdom, Ireland contributes a small quota to the, 20
Manufacturing industry, a plant of slow growth, 21
„ State interference with, injurious, 21
„ effects of the presence of coal-fields on, 22
„ marked progress of Ireland in, the last six years, 51
„ Ireland adapted for several branches of, 20
Market wages and natural wages, 340
Marl, composition of, 80
„ superabundant in Ireland, 80
„ use of, in Norfolk, 126

Marriage of a Protestant and Catholic by a Catholic priest in Ireland invalid, 321
Maynooth grant, 394
„ compensation for, in Church Act of 1869, 399
Middle class, the main stay of a nation, 171, 379
„ the dispensers of wages, 172
„ very small in Ireland, 171
„ how diminished by absenteeism, 379
Mica-slate, its soils, 73
Middlemen described, 336
„ former idleness and extravagance of, 336, 337
„ swept away in 1846–47, 381
„ revival of, to be guarded against, 417
Minerals, coals, and manufactures of Great Britain and Ireland compared, 7, 53–56
Mines, depth of, 438
Ministers' money, 392
Molyneux, 356
Mountain improvement in 1766, 160
„ the same tract in 1869, 162
„ in county of Waterford in 1780, 163
„ in county of Cork, 1837–1865, 163
„ Master Fitz Gibbon on, 164
„ bars to, 165
Mountain limestone, why so called, 9
Mountain grazing and collops, 342
Mule-jenny, 17
Municipal Reform Act of 1840, 376
Muslin, sewed, trade of Belfast, 45
„ decline of, through change of fashion, 45
Muslins, Dacca, 433

Natural wages and market wages, 340
„ the foundation of the conacre system, 341
Net produce of a country, what constitutes the, 152
„ „ what it includes, 152
„ „ the only fund from which an addition can be made to capital, 152
„ „ a considerable portion of, consumed by the unproductive classes, 152
„ „ much of, wasted by the productive classes, 152
„ „ a large proportion of, saved, to be used as capital, 152
„ „ all absorbed by the poor rates in Ireland in the famine years, 382
Newry canal, 86
New South Wales, coal-fields and coal statistics of, 431
Norfolk farming, 126
„ rotation, 128 *note*
„ turnips and marl, 127
Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, coal-fields and coal statistics of, 432

O'Connell, Daniel, 371
„ biography of, 450.
„ great public services of, 371, 372, 450
„ anecdote of, 52
Occupations of the people in England and Wales and in Ireland, 183
O'Leary, Arthur, 'the Outlaw,' 325
O'Neill, the rebellion of, in 1641, 286
Oolite, 66
Ormond, Duke of, 437

Pale, the, 242
Parliament of Kilkenny, 1366, 243
„ the Irish, the tool of Government, 248, 443
„ fatuity of the Irish, after 1782, 366
„ reform of the Irish, called for, 367
„ Mr. Grattan's description of its constitution, 367
Parliaments, contests of the British and Irish, 353–356
„ when English, first made septennial, 357
„ Irish, made octennial, 357
„ Irish, and Poynings' Law, 443
Passages paid for in America now and formerly, 175
Pasture and tillage, number of cultivators required for each, 184
Peasant proprietors, 418–421
„ the gradual creation of, recommended, 418
Peasantry, tyranny inflicted on, formerly, 337, 343
„ an English gentleman's observations thereon, 344
Peel, Sir Robert, on backward state of agriculture in England, 202
Penal laws, the principal, fully detailed, 320–327
„ against the education of Catholics, 321
„ „ family peace of Catholics, 322
„ „ property of Catholics, 323
„ „ social advancement of Catholics, 322
„ „ religion of Catholics, 320
„ „ rights of Catholics, as subjects, 322
„ following Catholics after death, 326
„ Edmund Burke's opinion of the, 324
„ demoralizing effects of the, 324
„ why called Laws of Discovery, 324
„ a flagrant violation of the Treaty of Limerick, 319
„ first relaxation of, in 1771, 327
„ subsequent relaxations of the, 328
„ and Arthur O'Leary the Outlaw, 325
„ put in motion against Dr. Walsh, Catholic Bishop of Cork, 326
„ neutralized by Dr. Jemmett Brown, Protestant Lord Bishop of Cork, 327
„ and the Yelverton marriage case, 321
Penal statutes of Elizabeth, 258
„ inflicting fines for not attending church, 259
„ making the Oath of Supremacy a qualification for degrees, &c., 259
Pennsylvania, coal measures of, 425

Perrot, Sir John, his rule as Lord Deputy, 246
Pig, the, called the Irishman's 'banker,' 341
Pittsburg, coal measures of, 426
Plantation of Ulster, 262
„ confiscations preceding. See confiscations
„ division of the lands under the, 263
„ baronets, institution of, at the, 264
„ Sir A. Chichester chief agent in the, 264
„ his large share in lands allotted under the, 264
„ crown rents reserved at the, 263
„ City of London takes part in the, 264
„ Derry and Coleraine built by the London Companies at the, 264
„ Irish or Catholic tenants forbidden in the, 263
„ great injustice and oppression suffered by the old occupiers under the, 265
„ great abuse in the distribution of lands under the, 266
„ number of English settlers under the, 263
„ number of Scotch settlers under the, 263
„ Oath of Supremacy exacted from Catholics, but not enforced on Scotch Presbyterians, at the, 263, 266
„ servitors, 263
„ undertakers, 263
„ abolition of tanistry and gavel-kind, and assimilation of land tenure to that of England, 261
„ money rents and fixed terms of years or lives established, 261
Plantation acre, proportion of, to statute acre, 302
Poor Law, its enactment for Ireland, 383
„ its expansion to meet the famine years, 383
„ bad effects of rating under, by electoral divisions, 209
„ union rating desirable, 209
Poor rates absorbing all the net produce in the famine years, 382
Pope's, the, encyclical letter for the relief of the sufferers by the Irish famine, 383
Poplin manufacture, its history and present position, 46, 47
Population of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, 1841, 1861, and 1868, 141
„ increase of, in England and Wales, 1841 to 1868, 141
„ „ in France, in the same period, 142
„ „ in Belgium, in the same period, 142
„ decrease of, in Ireland, in the same period, 141
„ of England and Wales to 500 acres of arable land, 182
„ of Ireland to 500 acres of arable land, 182
„ of England and Wales considerably over double that of Ireland, 181
„ engaged in agriculture in England and Wales, as compared with Ireland in 1861, 182–185
„ common error about this, 182
„ cause of this error, 182
, decrease of, in Ireland, chiefly in the class agricultural, 204

Population, the life-blood of states, 181
„ wages increase with, in well ordereds tates, to a point far beyond the present population of Ireland, 207
Potato failure in 1846–47, 381
„ amount lost in, 382
„ Marquis of Lansdowne's account of, 382 *note*
„ results of, 381–383
Post-tertiary formation, 65
Poynings' law, 443
Presbyterians, the, and the Regium Donum, 394
„ compensation to, in the Church Act of 1869, 399
Priests, the, the best friends of the people, 375
„ deservedly reverenced, 375
„ many die of contagion, caught in the discharge of their duties, 375 *note*
„ interference of, in public affairs heretofore a necessity, but now likely to be rendered unnecessary by Mr. Gladstone's legislation, 376
Primary formation, 66
Private endowments of the late Established Church, 392
Profitable land, 302
Provision trade of Cork formerly large, 339
Prussia, coal-fields and coal statistics of, 418
Prussia, Rhenish, agricultural prosperity of, 135
„ area of arable land, 135
„ number of cultivators, 136
„ average number of cultivators to 500 acres arable land, 137
„ classification of cultivators, 136
„ number of farms, 136
„ average size of farms, 136
„ total population, 135
„ average population to 500 acres of arable land, 137

Quartz rock, 66
Queenstown, 82
Queen's and King's Counties, 255

Railways of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, miles open, and traffic of, compared, 140
Rainfall of Ireland, 89
Rapeseed cake as manure, 127
„ „ used in Norfolk in 1770, 127
Rapparees, 300
Rebellion of O'Moore and O'Connor, 254
„ of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, 262
„ of 1641, 286
„ of 1798, 368
Recent or post-tertiary formation, 65
Reclaimable waste lands, 187
Reformation introduced into Ireland, 248

Regium Donum and Presbyterians, 394, 399
Regular and secular clergy, the terms explained, 320
Relaxation of the penal laws. See Penal Laws
Religious denominations, numbers of the several, in Ireland, 394
Remedies proposed on the land question, 407
Remittances of the Irish in America to their friends in Ireland, 175
Reprizals, 306–312
Requisites of production, the, 145
Rivers of Ireland, 85
Robinson's, Primate, fund, 392
Rocks composing the earth's crust, 65–68
,, stratified or fossiliferous, 65, 66
,, unstratified or non-fossiliferous, 65, 66
'Roman Catholic' first substituted for 'Papist' or 'Popish person' in the statutes, 330
Roofing slate, 66
Rouen, manufactures of, 21
,, cost of English and French coal at, 22
Rushes an invariable sign of want of drainage, 121
,, very frequently seen in land in Ireland, 121
Russia, coal-fields of, and coal statistics of, 430
,, vast resources of, being rapidly developed, 431
,, monster lines of railway being carried out, 431

Salt deposit at Duncrue, near Carrickfergus, 75
,, raised there, and in Cheshire and Worcestershire, 75
Sand and gravel in Ireland, 70
Sandstone, Old Red, 66, 74
,, ,, soils of, 74
,, New Red, 66
,, ,, in counties of Antrim and Derry, 75
,, ,, soils of, the highest rented in England, 76
,, ,, forms nearly the whole central plain of England, 76
,, Yellow, found with the Old Red, 74
Saving, three classes by whom, may be effected, 169
Savings, very large, effected by the landowners of Great Britain, 171
,, of the working classes small, 169
,, chiefly effected by capitalists, 171
,, capital created by, 152, 169
,, the Irish tenant-at-will cannot effect large, 172
,, security essential to the effecting of, 172
,, profit the inducement to effect, and employ them as capital, 172
Savings Banks of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, 170
,, number of, 170
,, number of depositors in, 170
,, amount due to depositors in, 170
,, amounts received and paid out, 170
,, rate of interest allowed in, 171 *note*
,, deposits per head of the population of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, 170

Savings Banks, Post Office, special advantages of, 171
„ „ bring the institution to the poor man's door, 171
„ „ seven times as numerous as the others, 171
„ „ statistics of, 171
„ „ rate of interest allowed in, 171 *note*
'Saxon in Ireland,' the, on Irish agriculture, 122
Saxony, kingdom of, agricultural prosperity of the, 136
„ area of arable land in the, 136
„ number of cultivators in the, 137
„ average number of cultivators to 500 acres of arable land in the, 137
„ number of farms in the, 136
„ average size of farms in the, 136
„ manufacturing industry of the, 136
„ coal-fields and coal statistics of the, 429
Science and art, institute of, wanted in Ireland, 47
Scotland, area of arable land in, 98
„ number of landed proprietors in, 98
„ coal production of, 13
Sea Island cotton, fineness of, 433
Seaweed manure, 81
Secondary formation, 66
Secular and regular clergy, the terms explained, 320
Security essential to saving, 172
„ complete, what is wanted for the tenant in Ireland, 417
Seine Inférieure, manufacturing industry of the department of, 22
Servitors, 263
Settlement, Act of, 310
„ „ summary of, in statute acres, 314
„ final, under William III., 317, 318
Sewed muslin trade of Ulster, 45
„ „ decline of, owing to a change of fashion, 45
Shannon river described, 85
„ catchment basins of, and of its tributaries, 92
„ Government works on, 93
„ continued floods and saturations on banks of, 95
Sheep and cattle increasing in a state of nature, not farming, 126
Shipping, steam and sailing, of Great Britain and Ireland compared, 140
Shoddy factories in United Kingdom in 1868, 33
Silk factories in United Kingdom, particulars of, 48
„ manufacture in Ireland, history of, 46
Soil, the, chiefly formed from the underlying rock, 69
„ natural fertility of the, in Ireland, 58–64
„ rockiness of the, in Ireland, 76, 77
„ moisture of the climate very fertilizing to the, in Ireland, 77
„ rapid recovery of the, in Ireland from the effects of bad culture, 77
Soils of chalk, 70
„ of clay-slate, 73
„ of granite, 74
„ of limestone, 76, 78

Soils of New Red Sandstone, 76, 78
„ of Old Red Sandstone, 74
„ of trap rocks, 74
„ of stiff clay, 70
„ of New Red Sandstone the highest, and of chalk the lowest, rented in England, 76 *note*
„ of Carlow, 59
„ of Clare, 62
„ of Cork, 61
„ of Donegal, 62
„ of Galway, 62
„ of Kerry, 61, 64
„ of Kildare, 59
„ of Kilkenny, 60
„ of Limerick, 60, 62, 63, 64
„ of Longford, 59, 63
„ of Mayo, 63, 64
„ of Meath, 59, 62, 63
„ of Queen's County, 59
„ of Roscommon, 59, 62
„ of Tipperary, 60, 62, 63
„ of Westmeath, 64
„ of Wexford, 59
„ curious comparison of fertile, in England and Ireland, 78
„ mixture of, 69
„ „ how effected naturally, 69
„ „ how effected artificially, 71
„ „ good effects of, twofold, mechanical and chemical, 70
Sovereigns, habitual absence of, from Ireland, 242
Spain, coal-fields and coal statistics of, 430
Spenser, Edmund, 87, 439
Spindles, number and classification of, in United Kingdom, 50
„ number of, minded by one person, 17
Spinning frame, invention of, 17
„ jenny, invention of, 17
„ mills, fine, of England, 433
State interference, generally, in Irish land question not opposed to the principles of political economy, 404
Statute acres, proportion of, to plantation acres, 302
Steam engine, invented by Watt, 16
Strata, variously inclined, 67, 68
„ uniformly displaying the same order of succession, or superposition, 67
Stratification, great variety of, in the British Isles, most favourable to agriculture, 68
Strikes, evils of, in England, 226
„ causing the transference of important manufactures to the Continent, 227
Submerged bogs at low water mark, 68
Swift, Dean, 438
„ on the suppression of the Irish woollen manufacture, 28

Swift, Dean, on the injustice done the Catholics in the final settlement of landed property, 313
„ on the state of Ireland in 1727, 333
„ on the want of information about Ireland in England, 2

Tabinet manufacture. See Poplin
Tanistry and gravel-kind, 239
„ „ abolished by James I., 261
Tax payers of the United Kingdom, how interested in the Irish question, 139
Tenant right of Ulster, defined 106
„ tenants' definition of, 107
„ principle of, 107
„ origin of, 108
„ rents under, regulated by custom not competition, 107
„ landlord's power to advance rent, 107
„ how exercised, 107
„ prices paid for, 107
„ price of, regulated by the custom of the estate, 108
„ complaints of landlords undermining, 107
„ as respected, or the contrary, by the London companies, 448
„ good effects of, 108
„ Devon Commission on, 108
„ proposal to legalize and extend all over Ireland, 412
Tenants of Ireland, chiefly at will, 109–111
„ of England, three-fourths annual, 230
„ political slavery of Irish, formerly, 343, 373
Tenure, complaints of want of, 110–113
„ uncertainty of, paralyzing exertion, 110
„ Judge Longfield on, 111
„ Right Reverend Bishop Keane on, 111
„ fixity of, now sought for by the tenant farmers of Ireland, 417
Tertiary formation, 66
Tillage and pasture, number of cultivators required for each, 184
Tillage, decrease of, in Ireland, 403
'Times,' the, on the exodus, 143
„ has rendered good service in its special commissions, 199 *note*
'Times' Commissioner on baronies of Forth and Bargy, 194
„ on Lord Bessborough's estate, 196
„ on want of arterial drainage, 97
„ on mutual distrust between landlord and tenant, 119
Tithe causes tried by the clergy, 281
„ bills, the most sanguinary laws, 359
„ proctors and middle-proctors, 348
„ question, settlement of, in 1838, 377
Tithes of agistment, 347
„ abolished by the Irish House of Commons, 347
„ auction of, on the premises, 348
„ let as a farm, 348
„ cottiers' feelings about, 348

Tithes, cottiers' sufferings from, 349–351
„ a tax on industry, 348
„ Mr. Grattan on, 351
„ Mr. Wakefield on, 350
„ heavy costs of proceedings for, 352
„ Whiteboyism and other outrages caused by, 351
„ oppression of the poor for, in 1829, 1830 376
„ Right Reverend Dr. Doyle's evidence on, 376
„ made payable by landlords in 1838, 377
„ how landlords recouped themselves, 377
Tories, why so called, 300
Trade restrictions, 34, 35, 36
„ removed in 1778, 36
Transition formation, 66
Transplantation by Cromwell of the Irish and Catholics to Connaught and the county of Clare, 299
Trap rock, 66, 67
Treaty of Limerick, 317
„ violation of, 317, 318
„ emigration of soldiers under, 317
„ penal laws a flagrant violation of, 319
Trinity College Dublin, 393, 451
„ revenues of, 452
„ number of students in, 454
Turf, its nature and formation, 79
Turnips, when first introduced into England, 126
„ revolution effected in the agriculture of England by, 126
„ cultivation of, by Mr. Coke of Norfolk, 126
„ soil and climate of Ireland most favourable to the culture of, 125
„ decrease of, in Ireland, with an increase of live stock, 125
„ what might be effected in Ireland by the culture of, 125
Tweeds, South of Ireland, excellence of, 34
Tyrone, war of, 251
Tyrone and Tyrconnel, flight of the Earls of, 262
„ their estates confiscated, 262
Tyrconnel, Viceroyalty of, under James II., 316
„ his measures to remove Catholic disabilities, 316
„ his project of restoring the Catholics to their estates, 316

Undertakers, under Elizabeth and James I., 258
Union, Act of, 368
„ articles of, 369
„ questionable means of carrying the, 370
„ amount of money voted for purposes of the, 370
Unproductive classes, the, 153
Unstratified rocks, 65

Value, aggregate, of articles consumed by the rich, small as against same by the working classes, 153
„ declared real, of articles of British and Irish manufacture exported from Great Britain and Ireland, 54

Vegetation, essential principles of, 89
Volcanic rocks, 67
Voluntary system in Ireland, 396
,, expenditure in buildings under, since 1800, 396
,, annual expenditure under, 396
Volunteers, the, 359, 363, 367
,, meeting of, at Dungannon, and resolutions, 363
Vote by ballot essential to the settlement of the land question in Ireland, 418

Wages, agricultural, in Ireland, 204
,, ,, in England, 205
,, ,, considerable advance of, in Ireland, 205
,, ,, why not higher in Ireland, 206
,, market, 340
,, natural, 340
,, ,, the foundation of the conacre system, 341
,, below the natural rate in 1846, 379
Wakefield's, Mr., work on Ireland, 58
Walsh, Doctor, Catholic Bishop of Cork, and the penal laws, 327
Wards, Court of, 277
Waste lands reclaimable, 187
Watt, James, invents the steam engine, 16
Wealden, 66
Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 437
Whig, origin of the word, 300
Whiteboys, 358
Wood and coal both used for the engines on the Warsaw line, 430
Wood-coal or lignite, 12, 79
Wood fuel for domestic purposes in Russia, 430
Wool, British and Irish, how used in manufactures, 19
,, Scotch, 19
,, various foreign kinds, 19
,, quantity of British and Irish grown, 19
,, imports of, 18
,, exports of, 19
Woollen manufacture of England, progress of, 17
,, of Ireland, history of, 24
,, ,, suppressed by Government, 26
,, ,, very flourishing at the time of its suppression, 28
,, ,, progress of, the last six years, 33
Woollen and worsted factories, in England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, 33
,, exports of Great Britain and Ireland, 32
Woollens, great increase of exports of, by France to Great Britain, 225, 226

Yelverton marriage case, a result of the penal laws, 321
Youghal, submerged bogs at low water mark at, 68
Young, Arthur, 'Tour in Ireland,' 57

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

00027368

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016